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Negative configurations in French

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Abstract

This is a study of sentential negation in French cast in the Principles-and-Parameters framework of generative syntax. It is argued that *ne* – associated with negation in written and certain formal varieties of spoken French – is no longer inherently negative. This conclusion is based on the observation that, in almost all contexts, *ne* is neither necessary nor sufficient to negate a clause. Rather, the evidence suggests that *ne* needs to be ‘supported’, within a spec-head configuration at S-structure, by an inherently negative operator – *pas* or its non-overt counterpart, Op – in order to be licit and in order for sentential negation to be expressed. The mechanism by which the operator licenses *ne* is assumed to be Dynamic Agreement. We follow the generally accepted view that *ne* is generated as Neg°, and argue that the operator is generated either adjoined to the predicate over which it has scope or within an indefinite nominal expression. Overt operator raising to SpecNegP is motivated on the basis of the Neg Criterion, a wellformedness condition on the distribution and interpretation of negative elements. By assuming that the operator is not generated in SpecNegP, we explain the absence of PP-embedded pseudo-partitives ([_{NumP} Ø [de NP]]) and why *pas* (but not *ne*) is compatible with ‘true’ imperatives.

Cross-linguistic comparison suggests that negative concord (NC) is a feature of languages whose principal negative marker is not associated with SpecNegP. Having concluded that *pas*/Op are the principal negative markers in Modern French, we predict that Modern French is a non-NC language. The prediction is supported by diachronic data, suggesting that the elements *plus*, *jamais*, *guère*, *rien* and *personne*, which readily co-occur without leading to logical double negation, are not inherently negative. Thus, where these items are interpreted negatively, they are deemed to be in the scope of a negative operator which, in standard varieties at least, is generally non-overt: Op. Such an analysis has welcome consequences in that it allows us to maintain assumptions which are lost in other analyses: (a) that *ne* is always licensed by an S-structure spec-head configuration with a negative operator: *pas*/Op; (b) that pseudo-partitives are the result of operator extraction.

The study is organised in the following way. Chapter 1 deals with pre-verbal *ne*; chapter 2 with the negative operator *pas*. Negative concord is discussed in chapter 3. The negative adverbs (*plus*, *jamais* and *guère*) and negative arguments (*rien* and *personne*) are dealt with in chapters 4 and 5 respectively.

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Preface

Sentential negation has been of interest to linguists and philosophers for centuries. In this dissertation, we propose an analysis of the principal phenomena in Modern French within the Principles-and-Parameters framework of generative syntax. (See Chomsky & Lasnik (1993) and Haegeman (1994a). For more recent versions of generative syntax, see Chomsky (1995b) and Radford (forthcoming).) In so doing, we reconsider a number of the core issues which have been discussed in the literature: What items are truly negative in Modern French? What is the status of *ne* and *pas*? What positions do they occupy? How is *ne* licensed? How are pseudo-partitives licensed? Why can 'negatives' such as *jamais* and *rien* co-occur with each other without leading to logical double negation but not, generally, with *pas*? And why does the variety of French spoken in Quebec differ from Standard French in this respect? In some cases, we come to the same conclusions as other researchers; in other cases, our conclusions differ. In our approach throughout, we follow a tradition initiated by Edward Klima over thirty years ago and represented in current work by such linguists as Paolo Acquaviva, Liliane Haegeman, Paul Hirschbühler, Marie Labelle, Itziar Laka, Luc Moritz, Jamal Ouhalla, Jean-Yves Pollock, Ljiljana Progovac, María-Luisa Rivero, Daniel Valois and Raffaella Zanuttini. The work of these linguists will be referred to as the discussion progresses.

The fundamental assumption underlying the study is that clausal polarity is feature-based. In particular, we assume, with Haegeman (1995: 107), that negative clauses are characterised by the presence of a feature, [+NEG], on a functional head of the extended projection of V, i.e., in the clausal domain. Consequently, most of what concerns us about Modern French revolves around how this is achieved. The data suggest that *ne*, which we assume is associated underlyingly with a functional head in the clausal domain, is not in fact inherently negative, i.e., does not bear the feature [+NEG]. Rather, it seems that the functional head hosting *ne* is endowed with the relevant [+NEG] feature by some dynamic agreement mechanism which transmits [+NEG] from an inherently negative operator in specifier position. It seems further that this takes place at S-structure and not, as some have argued, at LF. This has far-reaching consequences for the analysis of the other 'negative' elements, adverbs and arguments, associated with *ne* which, it will be suggested, are not inherently negative.

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Upon my arrival in York in 1989 as an MA student, it was undoubtedly Adrian Battye who gave me my initial guidance and support. He supervised my early graduate work on French as well as my dissertation. In autumn 1991, he began to supervise the doctoral dissertation you are now holding. Adrian became a good friend and one I greatly miss. Adrian died in March 1993. In September 1993, Bernadette Plunkett took over as supervisor. Over the past two and a half years, she has provided me with everything I could ever have needed as a research student. She offered the flexibility I required given that I was living in Manchester — a ninety-minute train journey away — and given that I had to fit visits to York around a full teaching and administration load at Salford. She provided discipline at times when I would rather have been doing other things. She was an extremely valuable intellectual opponent to some of the conclusions I had drawn. I doubt I ever changed her mind, but it did me good having to try. She was a careful reader of my work, and always provided constructive criticism. She is doubtless the most significant person I have to thank for making sure I am able to submit a dissertation today.

As you would expect, I have a lot to be grateful for to other linguists working specifically on negation. Paolo Acquaviva, Anastasia Giannakidou, Liliane Haegeman, Paul Hirschbühler, Marie Labelle, France Martineau, Claude Muller, Jamal Ouhalla, Ljiljana Progovac and Josep Quer were particularly helpful in that they either provided comments on early versions of my ideas or discussed them in their own work. Others, such as David Adger, Bill Ashby, Adriana Belletti, Bob Borsley, Viviane Déprez, Jacques Durand, John Green, Marie-Anne Hintze, Aafke Hulk, Ans van Kemenade, Bill Ladusaw, Richard Larson, Chris Lyons, Jean-Pierre Mailhac, John Payne, Liz Pearce, Carme Picallo, Jean-Yves Pollock, Ellen Prince, Ian Roberts, John-Charles Smith, Tim Stowell, Nigel Vincent and Raffaella Zanuttini, were willing to discuss my work with me. For the information they provided about individual languages, thanks to Myriam Carr, Joe Cunningham, Odile Cyrille, Jacques Durand, Liliane Haegeman, Susan Hill, Sylvain

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So much for individuals. As for the organisations whose help I have benefitted from along the way, I should first of all acknowledge the British Academy whose Postgraduate Studentship allowed me to go to York as a full-time MA student in 1989-90 in the first place. Without them, I'd probably still be a (very unhappy) translator in Paris. They also offered me a further three years PhD funding (which I turned down) and provided part of the financial support – in the shape of an Overseas Conference Grant – which allowed me to accept an invitation to participate in the Negation conference in Ottawa (Canada) in 1995. I would like to extend my particular thanks to the Department of Modern Languages and the European Studies Research Institute, both at Salford, for providing both the environment and financial support which were essential in allowing me to carry out this work. The Department of Modern Languages also funded this PhD for four years, while the European Studies Research Institute financed most of my research travel. The Department of Language and Linguistic Science at York – in particular Connie Cullen, Steve Harlow and Anthony Warner – deserve my thanks for setting me off on the path to becoming a syntactician, and for demonstrating their confidence in me as a teacher following Adrian Battye's death.

On a personal note, thanks to Adman & Tone, Bev, Chris & Dave, Miss Gibby & Colin, Ian, John-Pierre, Joseph, Paul and Dr Rob for providing quality of life. Thanks also to my mother and sister whose love and respect were unconditional.

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Author's declaration

Some of the material in this dissertation has been presented to various audiences and/or has already appeared in print. Aspects of the analysis of *pas* detailed in chapter 2 have been presented to audiences in the United Kingdom in Cambridge, Edinburgh, Manchester and York as well as in Barcelona (Spain), Ferrara (Italy) (Rowlett (1992a)) and Girona (Spain). See also Rowlett (1992b; 1993a/c/d). *Jespersen's Generalisation*, discussed in chapter 3, has been presented to British audiences in Durham, Manchester, Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Rowlett (1995a)), Salford and York as well as in Geneva (Switzerland) and Ottawa (Canada) (Rowlett (1995b)). See also Rowlett (1994c). The material in chapter 4 on negative adverbs formed the basis of talks in Cambridge (Rowlett (1994a)) and York (Rowlett (1994b)). See also Rowlett (forthcoming b). Finally, parts of the discussion of the negative arguments *rien* and *personne* in chapter 5 have been presented in Cambridge, England (Rowlett (1996)). See also Rowlett (forthcoming c). I am of course grateful to the members of all these audiences for their helpful comments and suggestions.

1

Foundations

1.1 Overview

This is a study of the syntax of (sentential) negation, with particular reference to Modern French, and of the insight into Universal Grammar (henceforth, UG) it offers. In successive chapters, we consider various aspects of the empirical domain starting, in this first chapter, with an overview of the assumptions we shall be making, in particular concerning the extent of Verb Movement. We then give a syntactic characterisation of the pre-verbal particle *ne*, and, as a prelude to later discussion, introduce the notion of ‘affective’ item (Klima (1964)). We conclude that the distribution and interpretation of such items are determined by a wellformedness condition known as the AFFECT criterion.

In chapter 2, we concentrate on the most salient aspect of negation in French, the adverbial negative marker *pas*, which we take to be the core lexical item in the modern language encoding negation. The discussion culminates in a syntactic analysis of this element which, following Pollock (1989), suggests that *pas* occupies SpecNegP (at S-structure). In contrast to Pollock’s analysis, however, we argue that the S-structure position of *pas* in SpecNegP is the result of an application of Move- α which raises *pas* from a lower base position. A range of empirical and theoretical arguments are given to motivate this revision of Pollock’s original analysis. On the empirical front, such an analysis is argued to be able to provide an elegant account of the morpho-syntactic distinction between indefinite direct objects in positive and negative clauses as well as otherwise problematic properties of imperative structures and the diachronic development of infinitival verb placement patterns. On a theoretical front, the analysis follows naturally from the AFFECT criterion introduced in chapter 1.

In many respects, chapter 3 is an *excursus* from the restricted domain of sentential negation in French. Predominantly cross-linguistic in outlook, the discussion addresses the distinction between ‘negative concord’ (henceforth, NC) languages, e.g., Italian and Serbian/Croatian, and non-NC languages, e.g., Standard Modern English and Modern German. In broad terms, NC languages are languages which allow multiple inherently negative constituents to co-occur within a single domain without their negative features being cancelled out. An account for the distinction between the two types of language is

offered based on a reinterpretation of an observation made by Jespersen (1924), whereby the issue of whether a language is NC or not is determined by the nature of its regular negative marker. Languages whose regular negative marker is realised on Neg° are NC languages; those whose negative marker is associated with SpecNegP are not. We provide an explanation for this generalisation which we term *Jespersen's Generalisation*. Given that the regular negative marker in Modern French, *pas*, is syntactically aligned with English *not* and German *nicht* rather than Italian *non* or Serbian-Croatian *ne*, *Jespersen's Generalisation* predicts that Modern French is a non-NC language. At the end of the chapter, we discuss reasons why we think that – despite appearances – this is in fact a reasonable conclusion to draw about Modern French.

Following the conclusions about negation in French made in chapters 2 and 3, we turn, in chapters 4 and 5, to more peripheral issues. In chapter 4, we consider ‘negative’ adverbs other than *pas*, namely *plus* ‘any more/no more’, *jamais* ‘(n)ever’ and *guère* ‘hardly’. On the basis of the null hypothesis that these elements are syntactically (if not semantically) identical to *pas*, we explore the ways in which their distribution departs from that of *pas*. A syntactic analysis is then proposed. In chapter 5, we turn our attention to what might be termed ‘negative arguments’, namely *rien* ‘anything/nothing’ and *personne* ‘anyone/no-one’. Our purpose here is to provide a syntactic analysis of the two items which accounts not only for the similarities but also the differences in their respective distributions. Further, we relate the syntax of these items to the proposals for the ‘negative’ adverbs in chapter 4. Given our general claim that Modern French is a non-NC language, the ‘negative’ items discussed are not deemed to be inherently negative; rather than being the rough equivalents of Standard English (henceforth, SE) *nothing*, *never*, etc., these items are assumed to be more like equivalents of *anything*, *ever*, etc.

The main purpose of the rest of this first chapter is to set out our basic assumptions which will be essential to the development of the study. We start in section 1.2 with our assumptions about the extent of Verb Movement, introducing the Split-Infl hypothesis. In section 1.3, we turn to the basic issues concerning the syntactic representation of sentential negation. In particular, we introduce and motivate NegP, a functional projection housing polarity features. In section 1.4, we introduce the notion of affective element; our conclusions are drawn together in section 1.5.

1.2 Verbal inflection and Verb Movement

1.2.1 Verb Movement versus Affix-Hopping

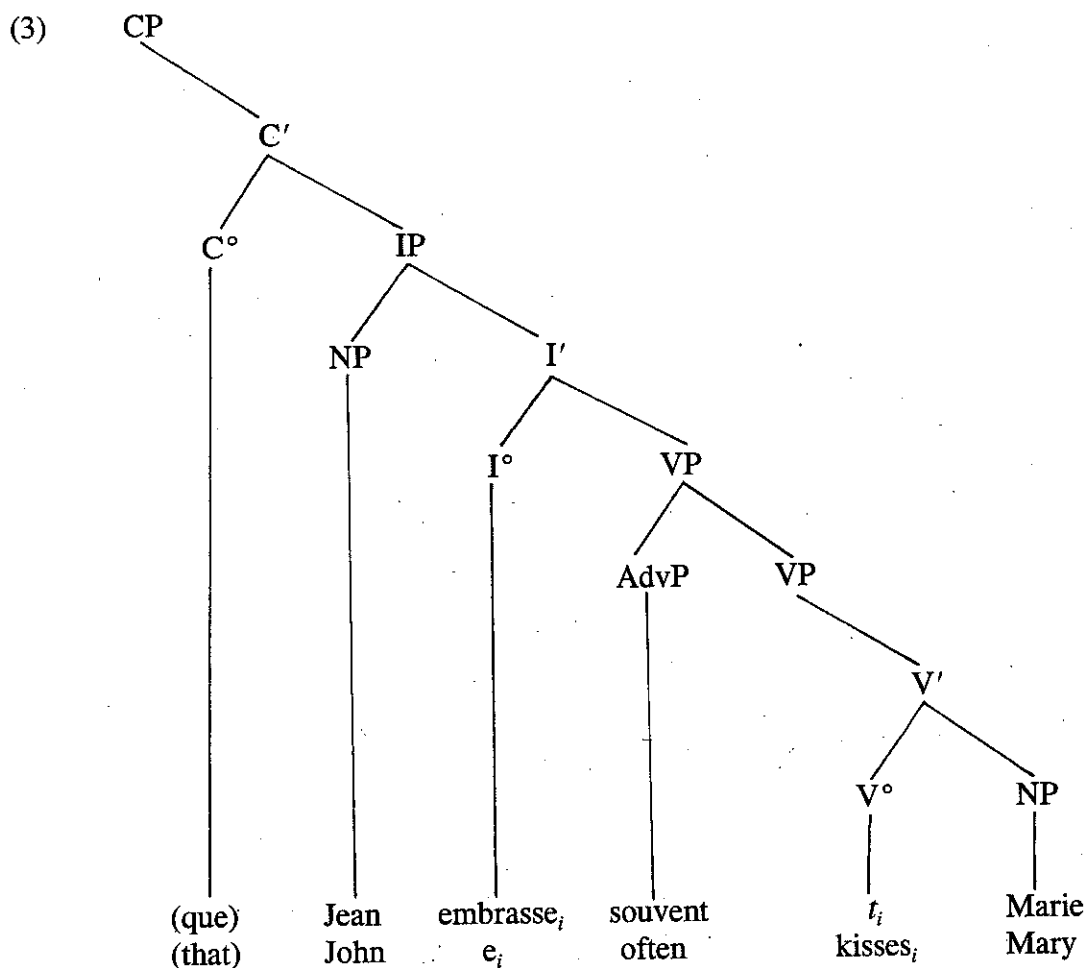
Since Emonds (1978: 163-168), it has generally been assumed that the mechanism linking French finite verb forms with inflectional morphology is (obligatorily) Verb Movement (Koopman (1984)). Within models of syntactic theory assumed in much work since the 1980s (Government and Binding, Principles-and-Parameters), this has meant that verbal roots were deemed to move out of their containing VP and incorporate into one or more successive c-commanding functional heads encoding verbal morphology. In English, in contrast, Affix-Hopping was deemed to lower the inflection onto the root of main verbs which, consequently, did not need to move out of VP. Only finite auxiliaries and modals are outside VP at S-structure in English, *à la française*.

The distinction between Verb Movement and Affix-Hopping is recast by Chomsky (1993) within Checking Theory as a distinction between pre-spell-out and post-spell-out checking. Within Checking Theory, morphologically complex words enter the derivation fully inflected while functional heads are generated as bundles of features. Morphologically complex words are then 'checked' by being matched with the features encoded on the functional heads following cyclic head-to-head adjunction to the relevant c-commanding inflectional heads. The parametric difference between the 'French' system and the 'English' system centres around whether head-movement-cum-checking takes place before or after 'spell-out', i.e., the input to the phonological component. This corresponds to movement in the syntax versus movement at LF in more traditional models. In French, movement/checking is pre-spell-out/overt; in English, movement/checking is post-spell-out/covert.

The difference between English and French is attributed by Pollock (1989) to the nature of agreement in the two languages. In French, it is strong, or transparent, and may be said to 'attract' the verb; in English, in contrast, it is weak, or opaque. This parametric difference between the two languages is claimed to be able to account for the following contrast:

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|--|--------------------------------|-----------|
| (1) | a. | Jean embrasse _i souvent t_i | Marie | (French) |
| | b. | ★Jean | souvent embrasse Marie | |
| | | J. (kisses) | often (kisses) M. | |
| | | 'J. often kisses M.' | | |
| (2) | a. | ★John kisses often | Mary | (English) |
| | b. | John e_i | often kisses _i Mary | |

Under the assumption that adverbs of the same type, e.g., *often* and *souvent* 'often', are generated in the same position cross-linguistically¹, Pollock (1989) argues that contrasts such as the one illustrated in (1) and (2) (his (4), p. 367) strongly suggest that finite verbs in French move out of VP to a position to the left of adverbs while finite verbs in English do not.



1.2.2 The Split-Infl hypothesis

Subsequent to Chomsky (1986b), Pollock (1989) has argued that the IP model fails to account for Verb Movement patterns in French. In short, a model of clause structure with a *single* inflectional head does not provide enough positions to allow an elegant account

¹ This assumption, shared by Belletti (e.g. 1994a: 38fn13), is supported by Sportiche's (1988: 429) 'Adjunct Projection Principle' governing modification relations and Chomsky's (1986b: 16) general theory of adjunction which, taken together, oblige 'modifiers' such as adverbs to appear adjacent to their non-argument XP 'modifiee' (or the head of their 'modifiee'). Note that this assumption is challenged by Williams (1994a: 189) who rejects 'the idea that there are universal "slots" in which adverbs of various kinds can appear, one slot for each type of adverb'; neither does he think 'that adverbs are distributed in the same way in different languages'. In (3), we assume that *souvent/often* are VP-adjoined. We modify this assumption in sections 1.2.6 and 1.2.7.3.

of word order. To resolve the problem, Pollock argues that the ϕ -feature and finiteness specification of I° should be associated with separate and independent heads which he labels T(ense) and Agr(eement), both of which project full phrasal categories within the X'-model². Pollock motivates this 'Split-Infl' model of clause structure on the basis of structures in French in which verbs undergo what he calls 'short' Verb Movement as opposed to 'long' Verb Movement. A model of clause structure in which there is just one inflectional head into which a verb either does or does not move is clearly not going to be able to account for such a fine-tuned distinction. In contrast, if IP is split into TP and AgrSP, with TP above AgrSP, the distinction between short and long movement can be represented as the distinction between movement from V° to AgrS $^\circ$ and movement from V° through AgrS $^\circ$ to T $^\circ$.

Pollock's data involves the interplay of negative *pas*, adverbs such as *souvent* and finite and non-finite verbs. The data in (1) above show that a finite verb in French moves to an inflectional head between the adverb and the subject. The data in (4) below show that the distribution of negative *pas* resembles that of *souvent*. As a working hypothesis, we could assume that *souvent* and *pas* are both VP-adjoined^{3,4}.

² The separate treatment of tense and agreement, i.e., in terms of distinct functional heads, is supported by the fact that some languages, e.g., the Mainland Scandinavian languages Danish, Norwegian and Swedish, distinguish between finite and non-finite but do not demonstrate subject-verb agreement (Platzack & Holmberg (1989)). In a number of other languages, e.g., Arabic (Plunkett (1993)), finite verbs appear with or without (subject) agreement morphology depending on whether the subject is overt or not. In both cases, the verb is marked finite. This clearly suggests that agreement and tense are independent of each other. Pollock's Split-Infl hypothesis is one possible way of articulating that independence. Chomsky (1991) suggests that the Split-Infl hypothesis follows from an X'-theoretic condition on single-headedness proposed by Emonds (1976: 5). Anticipating later discussion, we shall relabel Pollock's AgrP *AgrSP*, i.e., *subject* agreement phrase, to distinguish it from AgrOP, the *object* agreement phrase. For recent discussion of Agreement projections, see Chomsky (1995b).

³ This is only a provisional characterisation of *pas* and adverbs like *souvent*. See section 1.3.1 and chapter 2 in particular for a detailed analysis of the syntactic properties of *pas*. For *souvent*, see section 1.2.6.

⁴ In most spoken varieties of Modern French, the pre-verbal negative marker *ne* is optional. See section 1.3.4 for discussion. This optionality will not be explicitly indicated in the examples here. For discussion of '*ne*-drop', see Ashby (1976; 1981; 1991), Coveney (1989; 1990; 1996), Escure (1974), Pohl (1968; 1975) and Sankoff & Vincent (1977).

- (4) a. Jean n' embrasse_i pas t_i Marie
 b. ★Jean ne pas embrasse Marie
 J. ne (kisses) pas (kisses) M.
 'J. doesn't kiss M.'

- (5) a. Jean n' embrasse pas souvent Marie
 b. ★Jean n' embrasse souvent pas Marie
 J. ne kisses pas/souvent M.
 'J. doesn't often kiss M.'

The data reviewed so far are perfectly compatible with the IP model of clause structure: in both (1) and (4), the finite verb can be argued to have raised out of VP into the IP domain, to the left of the adverb and negative *pas*. Note though that the examples in (5) show that the order of the adverb and the negation is fixed – the negation must precede the adverb. This would need to be stipulated if both elements were deemed to have the same status as VP-adverbs. See footnote 5.

However, the paradigms in (6) and (7), containing strings with infinitival auxiliaries rather than finite forms, are not compatible with this model of clause structure:

- (6) a. Jean-Pierre avoue n' être pas souvent à l' heure
 b. Jean-Pierre avoue ne pas être souvent à l' heure
 c. Jean-Pierre avoue ne pas souvent être à l' heure
 J.-P. admits ne (be-INF) pas (be-INF) souvent (be-INF) at the hour
 'J.-P. admits he isn't often on time.'

- (7) a. Lucille prétend n' avoir pas souvent le temps
 b. Lucille prétend ne pas avoir souvent le temps
 c. Lucille prétend ne pas souvent avoir le temps
 L. claims ne (have-INF) pas (have-INF) souvent (have-INF) the time
 'L. claims she doesn't often have the time.'

To account for (6a) and (7a), in which the adverb and negation are *post-verbal*, we could assume, as with the verbs in (1) and (4), that the infinitival auxiliaries move from V° over *souvent* and *pas* to a non-finite I°. To account for (6c) and (7c), in which the adverb and negation are *pre-verbal*, we could assume, with Pollock (1989), that infinitivals (in contrast to finite forms) do not need to move out of VP and that, in these cases, the verb appears *in situ* in V°. In both cases, the IP model of clause structure can deal with the data. In contrast, (6b) and (7b) are a problem. Here, the verb appears *between* the negation and the adverb. If both these elements are VP-adjoined, the problem is that, within the IP model, there is no head position between the negation and the adverb for the verb to occupy:

- (8) $[_{IP} [_{I'} I^{\circ} [_{VP} pas \text{ ??? } [_{VP} souvent [_{VP} t]]]]]$

To account for these examples, Pollock (1989) uses his more articulated model of clause structure and suggests that the verbs in (6b) and (7b) have undergone short movement to AgrS°. In (6a) and (7a), in contrast, he claims that the verbs have undergone long movement through AgrS° to T°. In (6c) and (7c), the verbs are assumed to remain *in situ* in V°. Given the structure in (9), an infinitival auxiliary can occupy any one of the positions marked **Aux**, i.e., V°, AgrS° or T°:

- (9) *Possible S-structure positions for infinitival auxiliaries in French (version 1):*
 $[_{TP} [_{T^{\circ}} \text{ Aux }] [pas [_{AgrSP} [_{AgrS^{\circ}} \text{ Aux }] [souvent [_{VP} [_{V^{\circ}} \text{ Aux }]]]]]]]^5$

We therefore conclude that clause structure (in French if not universally) is more intricate than the IP model would suggest: CP-IP-VP is to be translated into CP-TP-AgrSP-VP. Assuming the VP-internal subject hypothesis, e.g., of Kitagawa (1986), a subject moves from its base position to SpecTP at S-structure, where it can be assigned nominative Case. In finite clauses in French (in contrast to English), the verb moves from its base position by a process of head-to-head movement through AgrS° to T°, whose [+FINITE] property allows nominative Case assignment to the subject in SpecTP⁶.

1.2.3 Support for the Split-Infl hypothesis from acquisition studies

The claim that there are two separate and independent syntactic heads associated with verbal inflection is supported not only by the word order patterns discussed in the previous section and the evidence referred to in footnote 1, but also by results from acquisition studies. Work reported in Verris & Weissenborn (henceforth, V&W) (1992), on which the discussion in this section is based, suggests that L1 acquirers of French go through a stage during which morphologically finite verbs undergo short movement (rather than the

⁵ In the unified Infl model, negative *pas* and adverbs like *souvent* were both assumed to be adjoined to VP. Under such an analysis, we would expect the order of these items to be free. Yet, it is not, as shown in (5). The negative *pas* must precede the adverb *souvent*. In the structure in (9), in contrast, the negative *pas* and the adverb occupy distinct positions. The former occupies a position between T° and AgrS°, possibly adjoined to AgrSP (see also footnote 7); the latter occupies a position between AgrS° and V°. The Split-Infl model has the advantage then of predicting that the respective ordering of *pas* and *souvent* is fixed, as shown in (5).

⁶ For further discussion of the issue of nominative Case assignment, see section 1.2.4. For further discussion of the VP-internal subject hypothesis, see Burton & Grimshaw (1992) and McNally (1992).

long movement which finite verbs undergo in adult French grammars) and, consequently, appear to the right of the negation in the sequence: *pas* + *finite verb*⁷. Further, even once children appear to have acquired long Verb Movement of finite forms, they nevertheless persist in making errors (albeit rarely) which could be argued to be the result of failing to raise the verb as far as the adult grammar would require. Examples are given in (10) and (11):

- (10) *Fabienne*:
- a. *pas joue le chat* (2-0-13)
pas play the cat
 - b. *pas compte* (2-0-23)
pas count
- (11) *Benjamin*:
- a. *pas chante moi* (2-2-18)
pas sing me
 - b. *pas met* (2-2-18; 2-3-8)
pas put
 - c. *pas saute* (2-3-1)
pas jump
 - d. *non, pas mange* (2-3-8)
no pas eat

While the rarity of these errors (two instances from Fabienne, five from Benjamin, none from Philippe during their respective periods of observation) could be taken to indicate that these are examples of performance errors, V&W (1992: 308-9) venture that there are a number of aspects of the data which suggest, rather, that they reflect a principled process⁸.

The first aspect which V&W (1992) mention is the fact that two of the three children studied go through an initial stage in which finite main verbs are *consistently* placed after the negation (rather than in front of it, as in the adult grammar). The interesting hypothesis that this observation might lead us to consider is that initial use of *pas* + *finite*

⁷ The fact that the verbs are clearly finite in their morphology suggests that they do not appear *in situ* in V°, but have raised at least as far as the lower functional head. For reasons why we reject a pre-spell-out Checking Theory account of these data, see section 1.2.5. As in the previous section, we assume for the time being that *pas* is adjoined to AgrSP. We make alternative proposals about the S-structure position of this element in section 1.3.3, and consider its base position in chapter 2.

⁸ They also make the point (p. 327fn28) that, given that performance errors are generally assumed not to be random, these too must be accounted for on principled grounds.

verb may constitute a genuine milestone in the acquisition of Verb Movement in French prior to acquisition of the adult sequence *finite verb* + *pas*. V&W (1992) refer to evidence which supports this hypothesis given by Choi (1988) and Boysson-Bardies (1976). Choi (1988) reports similar errors to the ones noted by V&W (1992) prior to the acquisition of the adult sequence. Furthermore, the transition from *pas* + *finite verb* to the adult *finite verb* + *pas* sequence took place at about the same point in the child considered by Choi (1988) as the two in V&W's (1992) study. While Boysson-Bardies (1976) does not note any errors of the type under discussion here, she does comment that at first only auxiliaries and modals appear with post-verbal negation. This implies that, like V&W's two subjects, Boysson-Bardies' subject also went through a stage characterised by an absence of finite lexical verbs appearing to the left of negation.

The second point made by V&W (1992) with respect to these errors is that they do not involve the verbs *avoir* 'to have', *être* 'to be' or *aller* 'to go' despite the high frequency with which these particular verbs appeared in the corpus. Fabienne used a finite main verb together with negation twice (between the ages of 1-5-11 and 2-0-23) and wrongly ordered the two elements on both occasions. (See (10).) During the same period of observation, she used finite forms of *être*, *avoir* and *aller* together with negation on 51 occasions and got the order right every time. Meanwhile, Benjamin used a finite main verb together with negation five times (between the ages of 1-9-19 and 2-3-8) and wrongly ordered the two elements on all five occasions. (See (11).) During the same period of observation, he used finite forms of *être*, *avoir* and *aller* together with negation on 140 occasions and got the order right every time.

The final aspect of V&W's (1992) data which, the authors suspect, suggests the errors are the result of a principled process is the absence of pre-verbal subjects in the sequence *pas* + *finite verb*, on either side of the negation. Cf. (10a)/(11a).

These considerations taken together lead V&W (1992) to suggest that the erroneous *pas* + *finite verb* orderings might represent an initial stage in the acquisition of Verb Movement in French children which they term *Partial Verb Raising*. In this respect, it may be the case that language development reflects the steps in the derivations posited in adult structures (V&W (1992: 303))⁹. In derivational terms, V&W (1992: 312) analyse these sequences in terms of short Verb Movement to be marked for finiteness. Since, in Pollock's model in (9), the landing site for short Verb Movement is under the negation, the relative order of the two elements is accounted for. V&W (1992: 311) suggest that

⁹ See also Lebeaux (1988) and Roeper (1991).

these finite main verbs do not raise into the higher inflectional head because of a failure on the part of children to recognise that they have agreement features, a plausible claim when one considers that these main verbs mark agreement by a null inflection and do not appear with an overt subject. In contrast, the verbs *avoir*, *être* and *aller*, which characteristically do not fail to raise to the left of the negation, morphologically mark person and number agreement by suppletion.

Of crucial importance to this analysis are: (a) the morphological independence of finiteness and agreement on the one hand; and, (b) Pollock's (1989) Split-Infl hypothesis on the other; and we therefore take these data to be further evidence in support of the hypothesis. However, what is odd about the details of Pollock's formulation of the Split-Infl hypothesis is the respective order of the two inflectional heads T° and AgrS° : Pollock suggests TP is above AgrSP. Accordingly, in adult grammars, French finite verbs move from V° -to- AgrS° -to- T° . This analysis seems difficult to square with the discussion in the previous paragraph in which it was suggested that verbs move to the lower inflectional head (AgrS°) to be marked for finiteness and to the higher inflectional head (T°) where agreement features are identified. Why should a verb move to AgrS° to be marked for finiteness and to T° for agreement features? Would not the reverse be more expected? This issue will be discussed in the next section where additional arguments will be presented in favour of reversing the order of TP and AgrSP proposed by Pollock.

1.2.4 Relative order of T° and AgrS°

While accepting that I° needs to be split into component categories, a number of authors, e.g., Belletti (1990), Chomsky (1991) and Ouhalla (1991), have suggested that Pollock's (1989) ordering of TP with respect to AgrSP should be reversed. In section 1.2.3 above, we saw that the data from acquisition studies discussed by V&W (1992) suggest that T° is closer to the verbal root than AgrS° . Belletti's (1990) reason for wishing to reverse Pollock's (1989) order is morphological in nature. Observing the internal structure of finite verb forms in Italian, Belletti (1990) notes that the suffix corresponding to tense is closer to the verbal root than the suffix corresponding to agreement:

- (12) *Italian*: (from Belletti (1990: 28))
- a. Legg-eva-no
read- IMP-3PL
'They read (imperfect).'
 - b. Parl- er- ò
speak-FUT-1SG
'I will speak.'

Although overt verbal morphology is not as rich in French as it is in Italian, it is also the case in French that, where tense and agreement suffixes can be distinguished, tense is closer to the root than agreement:

(13) *French:*

- a. Arriv-ai-ent
arrive-IMP-3PL
'(They) arrived.'
- b. Parl-ass-es
speak-IMP:SUBJ-2SG
'(You) might speak (imperfect subjunctive).'

On the basis of Baker's (1985: 375, (4); 1988: 13, (25)) Mirror Principle of morphology given in (14), Belletti (1990) argues that a model of clause structure in which AgrSP is higher than TP more readily accounts for the internal morphological structure of these verb forms¹⁰.

(14) *The Mirror Principle:*

Morphological derivations must directly reflect syntactic derivations (and vice versa).

Given that the tense suffix is closer to the root than the agreement suffix, it is argued that S-structure incorporation (see section 1.2.1) of the verbal root into the features encoded under T° takes place before the resulting $[_{T^\circ} [_{V^\circ} V] + T]$ complex incorporates into the features under AgrS $^\circ$ to form a $[_{AgrS^\circ} [_{T^\circ} [_{V^\circ} V] + T] + AgrS]$ complex. This is most straightforwardly captured if AgrSP is positioned higher in clause structure than TP.

Working under standard incorporation assumptions, Chomsky (1991) also recognises the morphological argument in favour of reversing Pollock's (1989) ordering of AgrSP and TP. In addition, Chomsky (1991) suggests that having AgrSP as the higher projection has welcome consequences within Case theory. With AgrSP in this position, the subject of a tensed clause in French appears in SpecAgrSP, the position in which it is assigned nominative Case. This result is welcomed by Chomsky since it fits in with his analysis of structural Case assignment always taking place under spec-head agreement within an

¹⁰ But see Speas (1991a/b) for arguments that the Mirror Principle does not necessarily follow from Baker's incorporation theory. Belletti's (1990) argument with respect to Baker's Mirror Principle is accepted by Pollock (1993: 18). However, Pollock maintains that Belletti's proposed ordering of TP with respect to AgrSP fails to link the $[\pm OPAQUE]$ finite inflection parameter to any overt, i.e., learnable, morphological property of the lower head, i.e., T° in Belletti's (1990) model.

Agr projection (cf. objective Case assigned via spec-head agreement with AgrO°)¹¹. Given the data from acquisition studies discussed in section 1.2.3 above, the morphological argument presented by Belletti (1990) and the theory-internal considerations discussed by Chomsky (1991), we shall assume in what follows that AgrSP is in fact higher than TP. Consequently, (9) is modified as in (15) below:

- (15) *Possible S-structure positions for infinitival auxiliaries in French (version 2):*
 [AgrSP [AgrS° Aux] [pas [TP [T° Aux] [souvent [VP [V° Aux]]]]]]

1.2.5 An objection

To complicate matters further, if Checking Theory is to be adopted (see section 1.2.1 above), it could be argued that Pollock's (1989) original order of the inflectional projections TP and AgrSP *might* be required. Given that, within Checking Theory, Verb Movement checks the morphological features of fully-inflected words, one might expect the word to pass through successive heads corresponding to the morphemes successively *furthest* away from the lexical root rather than successively *closest* to the root. So, in the case of the Romance verb forms discussed in the text, Pollock (1993) argues that the verb moves to AgrS° first to check the outermost agreement feature(s), and then to T° to check the tense feature. While dealing with Belletti's morphological argument discussed above, this logic would of course singularly fail to deal with the acquisition evidence discussed in section 1.2.3.

One way of solving the problem would be to consider the extent to which Checking Theory as proposed by Chomsky (1993) needs to be adopted universally. The crucial issue, we would suggest, is whether Checking Theory is adopted for languages with (relatively) rich verbal inflectional morphology like French and Italian. While Checking Theory seems attractive for languages such as English (with impoverished verbal morphology and no Verb Movement) since it avoids the need to take recourse to a lowering operation like Affix-Hopping, it is not clear what is to be gained by generalising the Checking Theory account of Verb Movement to languages like French and Italian. Instead of assuming: (a) that *all* morphologically complex lexical items in *all* languages enter derivations fully inflected; and, (b) that parametric variation determines whether morphological features are checked pre- or post-spell-out; we could envisage the parametric variation being expressed in terms of whether lexical items enter derivations fully inflected or not. If this line of thinking were pursued, we could conclude that, in

¹¹ But see Chomsky (1995b) for an alternative view of abstract Case.

languages with (relatively) impoverished inflectional morphology, like English, lexical items enter derivations fully inflected and therefore do not need to check their features until after spell-out, i.e., covertly at LF. Given Procrastinate (Chomsky (1995b)), movement will then *necessarily* be postponed until LF. In contrast, in languages like French and Italian, with (relatively) rich inflectional morphology, lexical roots could be argued to enter derivations uninflected, in which case movement would need to take place pre-spell-out, i.e., overtly at S-structure, not to check morphological features but rather to ensure the lexical root is associated with its morphology in the conventional sense and to ensure there remain no stranded affixes. Consequently, overt Verb Movement in the traditional sense would be necessary in languages like French and Italian and the relative order of AgrSP and TP proposed by Belletti, etc., would be required. This is the approach to the morphosyntax of French verbs we shall adopt in what follows.

1.2.6 A third inflectional head?

In addition to the categories AgrS(P) and T(P), there is reason to believe that a third functional category (whose head encodes verbal inflectional morphology) is projected in French clausal architecture. Evidence in support of this claim has been presented in a number of articles by Kayne (e.g., 1990; 1991)¹². Consider the verb forms in (16):

- (16) a. Frapp-er- ai- ent
 hit- FUT-IMP-3PL
 ‘(They) would hit.’
 b. Fin- ir- ai- s
 finish-FUT-IMP-1/2SG
 ‘(I/You) would finish.’

In each of these examples from the conditional paradigm, the verbal root is followed by a series of three inflectional affixes. The second and third suffixes run parallel to those in (13) above which we identified as realisations of T° and AgrS° respectively. Between these two suffixes and the root is a further suffix, *-er* in (16a), *-ir* in (16b), usually referred to as the infinitival ending:

- (17) a. Arriv-er
 arrive-INF
 ‘To arrive.’

¹² See also Pollock (1993: 26ff) and Pearce (1993).

- b. Fin- ir
 finish-INF
 'To finish.'

We assume that this additional affixal morpheme is generated as a syntactic head, which we shall call Mood°, following Pollock (1993: 26ff)¹³. Pollock describes the infinitival ending which also appears in futures and conditionals 'a [-REALIS] mood marker'¹⁴.

The issue which then has to be addressed centres around how an infinitival verb becomes associated with its morphology. Given the distinction between French and English drawn in section 1.2.1 above, we could envisage two possibilities: post-spell-out movement (Affix-Hopping) or pre-spell-out movement (Verb Movement). Either the verb enters the derivation with its infinitival morphology (and then does or does not raise into Mood° to check its features) or, alternatively, it enters the derivation as a bare verbal root and necessarily raises at least as far as Mood° in order to pick up its [-REALIS] mood marker. Given Emonds' (1978) original characterisation of Verb Movement patterns in French, the second option seems more likely. Since movement to T° and AgrS° to pick up tense and agreement affixes is assumed to be overt in French, i.e., pre-spell-out, it would be odd to conclude that, in contrast, movement to Mood° can be postponed until LF, i.e., post-spell-out.

Furthermore, Haegeman (1994b) has presented syntactic evidence suggesting that overt pre-spell-out movement is the correct analysis. Haegeman observes that an infinitival verb can appear with a clitic even when it appears to the right of an adverb like *souvent*, supposedly VP-adjoined:

- (18) Marie ne voulait pas souvent la voir, sa mère.
 M. ne wanted *pas* often her-CL see-INF, her mother
 'M. didn't want to see her mother often.'

Given that the infinitive in (18) follows the adverb, we would, on the basis of (15), assume

¹³ Kayne (1990; 1991) and Guasti (1991) use the terms Infn°/InfnP (Infinitive Phrase). In chapter 2, section 2.2.1, in the discussion of imperatives in French, we shall argue that Mood° is also the locus of (true) imperative morphology.

¹⁴ We are effectively rejecting an analysis of the French infinitival ending along the lines of the one proposed by Rottet (1992: 281-283) for the final [-e] segment which appears on verb forms in the French-based Louisiana Creole for which no evidence of Verb Movement exists. (Following a suggestion from Johan Rooryck, Rottet analyses [-e] as a verb marker along similar lines to Harris' (1991) analysis of [-o] and [-a] as noun markers in Spanish.)

that it appears *in situ* in V° . How, then, do we account for the fact that an object clitic appears between the adverb and the infinitive? Without going into detailed discussion, most current thinking suggests that clitics are realisations of functional heads¹⁵. One possible candidate host functional head for *la* in (18) is AgrO° , proposed in Chomsky (1991). Now, how can the clitic, as the realisation of object agreement features, appear on the verb in (18) if the verb is in V° and if the clitic is to the right of an apparently VP-adjoined adverb? Do we need to posit some lowering transformation such as Affix-Hopping to lower the clitic over the adverb onto the verb? Such a solution is undesirable for a number of reasons. Not only would it have all the unattractive features of any lowering movement; it would also be out of place in a language like French in which nothing like lowering transformations seems to be necessary elsewhere in the grammar. We therefore reject such an analysis and conclude, rather, that, even where infinitives appear to the right of adverbs like *souvent*, Verb Movement – albeit very short – to Mood° has taken place.

Assuming, with Pollock (1993: 26fn21), that MoodP is present in clause structure even when Mood° is not overtly realised, the canonical clause structure we will therefore be assuming is (19):

- (19) *Canonical French clause structure*¹⁶:
 $[_{CP} C^\circ [_{\text{AgrSP}} \text{AgrS}^\circ [\text{pas} [_{TP} T^\circ [\text{souvent} [_{\text{MoodP}} \text{Mood}^\circ [_{VP} V^\circ]]]]]]]]]]$

Note that this assumption entails analysing some VP-adverbs such as *souvent* as MoodP -adverbs. We are not claiming that VP-adverbs do not exist as such; rather, we are suggesting that not all adverbs traditionally labelled VP-adverbs are in fact adjoined to VP. Indeed, the contrast in (20) below can be captured if it is assumed that the interpretation of an adverb such as *bien* ‘well/indeed’ is determined by its position:

- (20) a. Le fait d’ avoir bien parlé ne suffit pas
 the fact of have-INF *bien* spoken *ne* suffices *pas*
 ‘The fact that you spoke well isn’t enough.’
 b. Le fait de bien avoir parlé ne suffit pas
 the fact of *bien* have-INF spoken *ne* suffices *pas*
 ‘The fact that you did indeed speak isn’t enough.’

¹⁵ See Sportiche (1992) for one possible implementation of this idea.

¹⁶ For the purposes of exposition, we abstract away from the issue of whether Chomsky’s (1991) AgrOP is projected. It may be that Chomsky’s AgrOP and our MoodP are in fact one and the same thing. We do not address this issue here.

Here, the position of the adverb with respect to the infinitive determines its (most natural) interpretation. In (20a), the adverb *bien* is post-infinitival and is most naturally interpreted as 'well'; in (20b), it is pre-infinitival and means 'indeed'. Assuming that the position of the infinitive is constant in both examples, i.e., in Mood°, the adverb in (20a) is deemed to be VP-adjoined while the adverb in (20b) is MoodP-adjoined (if not higher). This analysis is attractive for at least two reasons. First, it attributes adverb interpretation to adverb position (rather than to verb position). Second, it associates strict manner adverbs, as in (20a), with the VP-adjoined position, thus maintaining a traditional insight¹⁷.

In section 1.2.7, we look in detail at Verb Movement patterns in French. As we shall see, while finite verbs characteristically undergo long movement to AgrS°, the movement patterns of infinitivals are determined by the nature of the verb involved.

1.2.7 Verb Movement patterns

Having determined a canonical clause structure for French within which Verb Movement can operate, it would be useful for us now to bring together our assumptions about the way in which Verb Movement patterns are determined by such factors as the lexical (full, modal, auxiliary) and morpho-syntactic (finite, non-finite) properties of the verb in question.

1.2.7.1 Finite verbs

On the basis of (1) and (4), we conclude that finite lexical verbs move to the highest functional head encoding verbal inflection, i.e., AgrS°. Given the data in (21)-(24) below (and, of course, the assumption that *pas* is TP-adjoined), this conclusion can be extended to cover finite auxiliaries and modal verbs too.

- (21) a. Jean a souvent embrassé Marie
 b. ★Jean souvent a embrassé Marie
 J. (has) *souvent* (has) kissed M.
 'J. often kissed M.'

- (22) a. Jean n' a pas embrassé Marie
 b. ★Jean ne pas a embrassé Marie
 J. *ne* (has) *pas* (has) kissed M.
 'J. didn't kiss M.'

¹⁷ Our thanks to our colleagues Jean-Pierre Mailhac and Joëlle Riley for confirming the relevance of these data to us.

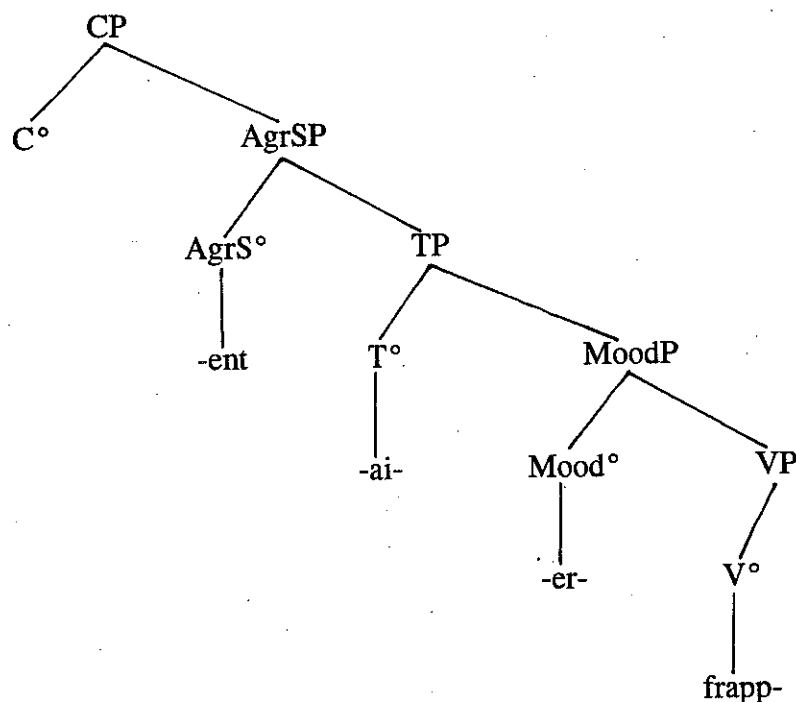
- (23) a. Jean doit souvent embrasser Marie
 b. ★Jean souvent doit embrasser Marie
 J. (must) *souvent* (must) kiss-INF M.
 'J. often has to kiss M.'

- (24) a. Jean ne doit pas embrasser Marie
 b. ★Jean ne pas doit embrasser Marie
 J. *ne* (must) *pas* (must) kiss-INF M.
 'J. doesn't have to kiss M.'

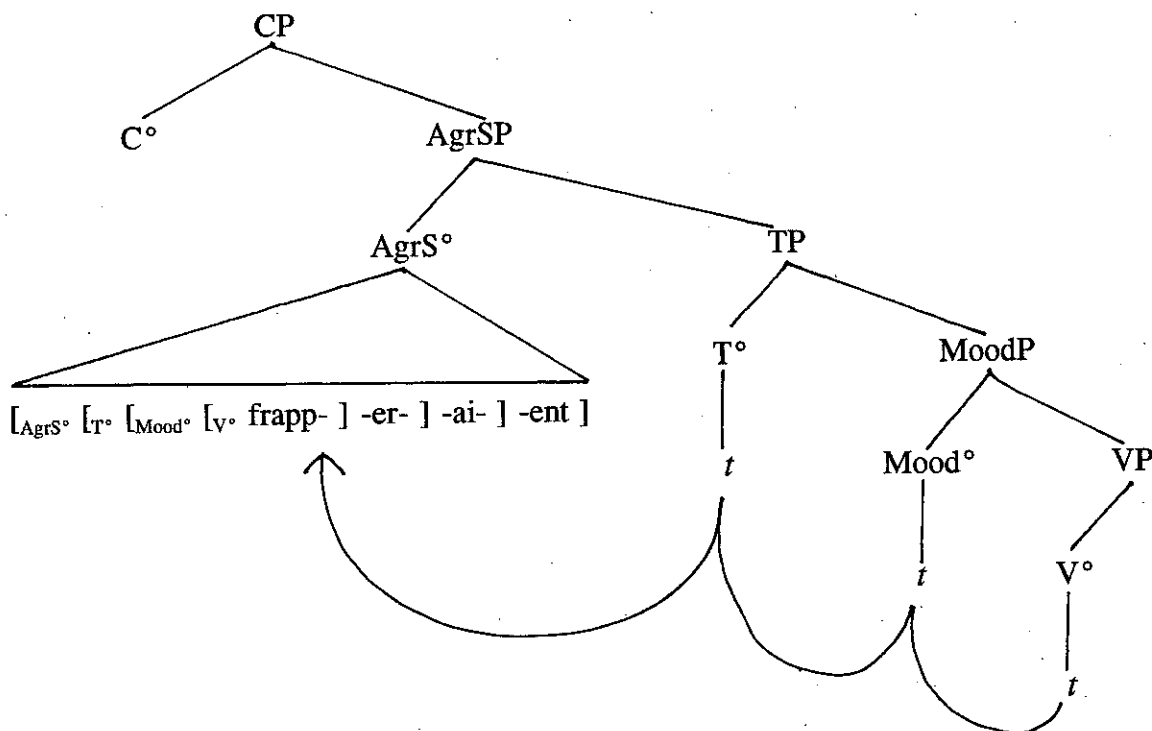
- (25) *Overt finite Verb Movement in French:*
 All finite verbs move to AgrS°.

A D-structure such as the one in (26) will therefore underlie a fully inflected S-structure representation in (27):

- (26) *D-structure:*



(27) *S-structure*:



1.2.7.2 Infinitival auxiliaries

With non-finite verbs, the picture is less clear. The general situation seems to be that infinitival lexical verbs do not move as far, for example, as infinitival auxiliaries or modals. The mobility of infinitival auxiliaries was illustrated in (6) above, and schematised in (19). These data, together with the assumption – made at the end of section 1.2.6 – that even infinitivals have to move out of VP to be associated with their infinitival morphology, lead us to the conclusion that an infinitival auxiliary can occupy any one of the three heads identified in (19), namely AgrS°, T° and Mood°¹⁸.

(28) Overt movement of French infinitival auxiliaries:

Infinitival auxiliaries (*être* 'to be', *avoir* 'to have') freely move to Mood° (short movement), T° (medium movement) or AgrS° (long movement).

1.2.7.3 Infinitival lexical verbs

If adverb placement can be taken as an indication of Verb Movement, as we have been assuming here, lexical infinitives seems to be the least mobile.

¹⁸ Hirschbühler & Labelle (1993c: 5) suggest that the possible orderings of infinitival *être/avoir* and elements such as negative *pas* and VP/MoodP-adverbs depend on whether the verb is used as an auxiliary or a copula.

- (29) a. Souvent partir en vacances est un luxe réservé à...
 b. Partir souvent en vacances est un luxe réservé à...
 (leave-INF) *souvent* (leave-INF) on holidays is a luxury reserved to
 'Often going on holiday is a luxury reserved for...'
- (30) a. Ne pas partir en vacances l'été, c'est normal quand...
 b. ★Ne partir pas en vacances l'été, c'est normal quand...
ne (leave-INF) *pas* (leave-INF) on holidays the summer it is normal when
 'Not going on holiday in summer is normal when...'

Still assuming that infinitives minimally move to Mood°, as in (29a), the example in (29b) shows that a lexical infinitive can move from Mood° (over the top of the MoodP-adjoined adverb *souvent*) to T°. However, (30b) shows that it cannot subsequently move from T° over *pas* to AgrS°.

- (31) *Overt movement of French infinitival lexical verbs:*
 Infinitival lexical verbs move to Mood° (short movement) or T° (medium movement), but not as far as AgrS° (long movement).

1.2.7.4 Infinitival modal verbs

Turning finally to the movement of infinitival modals, this class of verb seems to be something of a halfway house between lexical infinitives and infinitival auxiliaries. Under the assumption that adverbs like *souvent* are adjoined to MoodP and that infinitives minimally move to Mood°, the string in (32a) shows that infinitival modals need move no further than Mood°. The string in (32b) – which is potentially synonymous with (32a) – shows nevertheless that infinitival modals *can* move beyond Mood°, i.e., to T° and maybe even to AgrS°:

- (32) a. Souvent devoir partir à l'étranger, c'est...
 b. Devoir souvent partir à l'étranger, c'est...
 (must-INF) *souvent* (must-INF) leave-INF to the abroad it is
 'Often having to travel abroad is...'

The data in (33) can be used to test whether infinitival modals can indeed reach AgrS°. Here, the modal is negated with *pas*. Recall that we have been assuming that *pas* is adjoined to TP. In (33a), the infinitival modal verb appears after the negation; we therefore assume the verb has not been raised into AgrS°. In (33b), the modal verb appears before the negation; we therefore assume the verb occupies AgrS°. The question mark against (33b) is supposed to indicate that this ordering is only marginally acceptable. While the order in (33a) is the preferred order, the order in (33b) is not regarded as ungrammatical. Pollock (1989: 375; 1993:7) judges strings similar to (33b) (Pollock's

(1989: 375, (20))) to be 'somewhat marginal' and 'more exceptional', suggesting that they have 'a very literary ring to them'¹⁹.

- (33) a. Ne pas devoir partir à l' étranger, c'est...
 b. ?Ne devoir pas partir à l' étranger, c'est...
ne (must-INF) *pas* (must-INF) leave-INF to the abroad it is...
 'Not having to travel abroad is...'

We conclude therefore that, in the modern language, infinitival modal verbs move minimally from V° to Mood°, optionally from Mood° to T°, but only marginally from T° to AgrS°.

- (34) *Overt movement of French infinitival modal verbs:*
 Infinitival modal verbs move to Mood° (short movement) or T° (medium movement), and only exceptionally to AgrS° (long movement).

1.2.7.5 Summary

Summarising, we conclude that Verb Movement patterns in French are as in (35):

- (35) *Overt Verb Movement patterns in French:*
 a. All finite verbs move to AgrS°.
 b'. Infinitival auxiliaries (*être, avoir*) freely move to Mood°, T° or AgrS°.
 b''. Infinitival modal verbs (*pouvoir, devoir, etc.*) move to Mood° or T°, and only exceptionally to AgrS°.
 b'''. Infinitival lexical verbs move to Mood° or T°, but not as far as AgrS°.

The three classes of infinitives can therefore be distinguished on the basis of their movement patterns to AgrS°. Infinitival auxiliaries move to AgrS° freely, modal infinitives only exceptionally, while lexical infinitives cannot raise into AgrS° at all. These patterns will be crucial in distinguishing between *pas* and the other 'negative' adverbs in chapter 4, sections 4.3.2 and 4.5.1.

1.3 The syntax of sentential negation

Here, we set out our assumptions about sentential negation which will be crucial in future chapters. In section 1.3.1, we motivate a further functional projection, NegP, as the locus of polarity features (Pollock (1989)). We adopt the common assumption that SpecNegP is a suitable position for *pas* to occupy (rather than the TP-adjoined position we have

¹⁹ Hirschbühler & Labelle (1993c: 5) report that speakers tend to reject orderings in which the modal infinitive is followed by *pas*, as in (33b).

assumed thus far). In section 1.3.2, we discuss two problems for the general assumption that *ne* heads NegP. In section 1.3.3, we discuss the position of NegP with respect to the other functional projections in clause structure. In sections 1.3.4 and 1.3.5, we concentrate on the semantics and licensing conditions of *ne* in Modern French.

1.3.1 The locus of clausal polarity: NegP

In addition to the inflectional heads discussed above, the presence of a further functional head encoding polarity features has been posited²⁰. It is assumed that negative markers such as those in bold in (36) are associated with such a functional head.

- (36) a. Giovanni **non** è venuto (Italian)
 G. *non* is come
 ‘G. didn’t come.’
 b. Milan **ne** poznaje Marij-u (Serbian-Croatian)
 Mi. *ne* knows Ma.- ACC
 ‘Mi. doesn’t know Ma.’
 c. Ur zriġh Idir (Berber)
 ur saw-1SG I.
 ‘I didn’t see I.’
 d. Jean **ne** mange pas de chocolat (French)
 J. *ne* eats not of chocolate
 ‘J. doesn’t eat chocolate.’

The claim that these negative markers are heads (rather than phrasal constituents) is supported by the fact that they have cliticised onto the verb in AgrS° with which they form a syntactic unit²¹. In the case of French, for example, *ne* moves with the verb in

²⁰ See Haegeman (1995: 107) who assumes that negative clauses are clauses ‘which minimally have a NEG-feature associated with a functional head of the extended projection of V’.

²¹ In those varieties of French in which Neg° is phonologically null, we assume that it is nevertheless syntactically active and that, like its phonologically overt counterpart, it raises to AgrS°. This is clearly the null hypothesis given that we would not like to introduce any more differences between overt and non-overt Neg° than necessary. Haegeman (1995: 206, 226) assumes that, in Italian, the non-overt Neg° (which occurs with pre-verbal negative phrases) raises to AgrS° in the same way as its overt counterpart, *non*. In addition, Acquaviva (1994) discusses a possible semantic motivation for generalised Neg°-to-AgrS° raising:

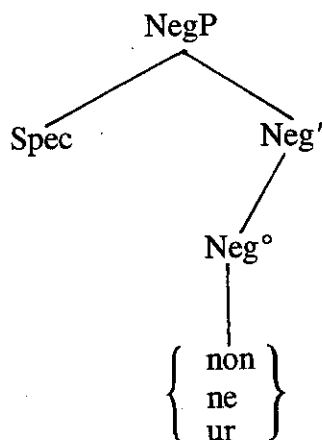
(i) [S]uppose that a negative operator (corresponding to the classic Boolean connective \neg) is generated in NegP, and from there it merges with the existential closure, located under the topmost inflectional node. The merger of Boolean negation and existential closure is brought about in the syntax by the raising of the head Neg° to the topmost inflectional head, which I take to be Agr[S]°. [...]

inversion contexts such as the interrogative:

- (37) Ne mange-t-il pas de chocolat?
ne eat he *pas* of chocolate
 'Doesn't he eat chocolate?'

The XP to which this head projects has been variously labelled Neg(ative)P (Pollock (1989)), Pol(arity)P (Ouhalla (1990), Belletti (1990), Culicover (1992)) and Σ P (Sigma Phrase) (Laka (1990)). Here, we shall use the label NegP. We assume that negative markers such as those highlighted in (36) are generated as Neg°.

- (38) *D-structure*:



1.3.2 French *ne* as head of NegP?

Although we adopt the general assumption in the literature that French *ne* is generated under Neg°, two empirical facts could be taken to undermine this assumption. The data are problematic for the assumption that *ne* is Neg° because they suggest that *ne* can appear in environments in which it is not immediately obvious that a NegP is available as a host.

Neg° raises from its base position within NegP and is adjoined to the dominating inflectional head, giving rise to a complex operator analyzable as a negated existential.

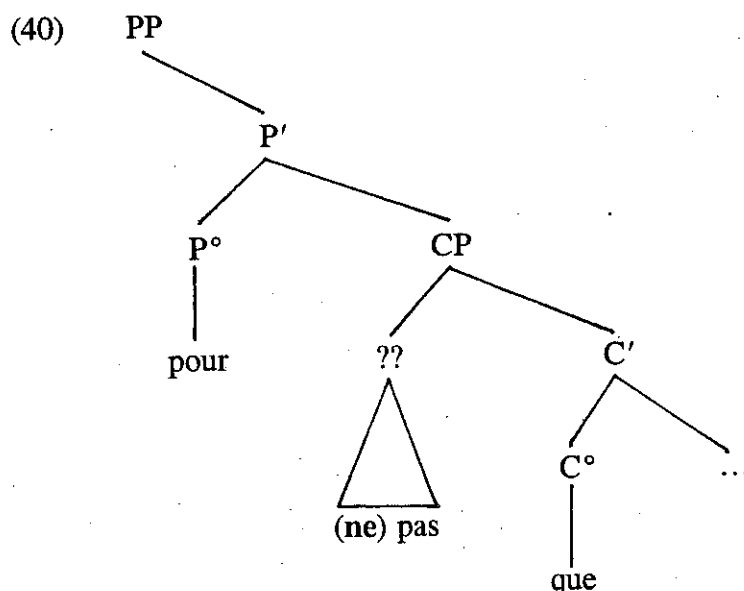
This approach has the great advantage over previous analyses to provide an interpretive (as opposed to purely morphosyntactic) reason for the crosslinguistic generalization that negative markers tend to be incorporated into the topmost inflectional node, unless they can be analyzed as filling the specifier of NegP (Acquaviva (1994: 113-4)).

See also the discussion of negative imperatives in chapter 2, section 2.2.1, for empirical support for the claim that Neg° raises to AgrS° irrespectively of whether Neg° is phonologically null or overt. For discussion of the semantics of *ne*, see section 1.3.4. For references to '*ne-drop*', see footnote 4 above.

First, the data in (39) below show a non-standard construction – *familière* according to Muller (1991: 125) – in which *ne* appears, optionally, in the CP domain. The examples are taken from Muller (1991: 125/149)²².

- (39) a. Il faut que Luc rentre pour (ne) pas que ses parents s'inquiètent
 it is-necessary that L. goes-home for *ne pas* that his parents worry-SUBJ
 'L. should go home in order to prevent his parents from worrying.'
- b. Habillez-vous bien, pour (ne) pas que vous preniez froid
 dress- yourself well, for *ne pas* that you take-SUBJ cold
 'Wrap up so you don't catch cold.'

Assuming that the purpose clauses in (39) are PPs headed by *pour*, and that *que* heads a CP which is the complement of *pour*, as in (40), it is unclear how we can account for the presence of *ne*:



In cross-linguistic terms, this construction is extremely odd. Zanuttini (1995a) notes the possibility but suggests that French *ne* is unique within its class of negative markers in appearing in the CP domain. The relevance of the construction is, however, unclear²³. Rickard (1989: 147) claims that it is 'incorrect' (*sic*) but common in 'uneducated speech'.

²² This construction is also discussed by Daoust-Blais & Kemp (1979) as well as Acquaviva (1995).

²³ See Rowlett (1994d) for brief discussion. Rizzi (1995a) proposes a much more intricately articulated CP structure involving Focus Phrases and Topic Phrases. Such a structure might be able to accommodate the data discussed here. However, there is still the issue of the source of *ne*. If it is generated within the AgrSP domain, it is difficult to see how it might raise above C°. An alternative would be for it to be generated above C°.

In a review of Rickard's book, Gallagher (1993: 121) disagrees, claiming that *ne* is *always* omitted. In contrast, Muller (1991: 149) not only recognises this construction as an exception to the generalisation that *ne* is restricted to verbal contexts, but says that it is a *frequent* one no less.

Hirschbühler & Labelle (1992/3: 34-7, section 1.1) envisage two syntactic approaches to the phenomenon. Either the sequence *ne pas* is generated directly in CP or else it is generated lower (within the clause) and raised into CP. However, these authors arrive at no firm conclusions. A clue to a possible solution to the problem could be the footnote (on p. 149) in Muller (1991). Here, Muller suggests that *ne* might be adjoined at a late stage in the derivation by analogy with the infinitival construction *pour ne pas Vinf*. In other words, the *ne* in (39) appears as a result of hypercorrection. Such an approach, although theoretically uninteresting, would solve most of the problems Hirschbühler & Labelle (1992/3) discuss. Further, an approach on the basis of hypercorrection would, arguably, be well-placed to account for Rickard's feeling that this 'incorrect' construction is characteristic of 'uneducated speech'. What is particularly odd about the construction is that the usual pattern of '*ne*-drop' does not apply to it, a fact which somewhat undermines any straightforward syntactic approach. In most contexts, *ne*-retention/omission is determined by stylistic and sociolinguistic factors. In general, '*ne*-drop' is more prevalent in lower registers and among speakers from lower socio-economic groups. The same is not the case in the *pour (ne) pas que S* construction in which, as suggested by Rickard above, it is *ne*-retention rather than *ne*-drop that is common in 'uneducated speech'. These observations lend some support to Muller's suspicion that we might be dealing with hypercorrection here, and cast doubt on the need to provide a syntactic account such as the one sketched by Acquaviva (1995)²⁴.

A second and more important problem for the assumption that *ne* is generated under Neg° comes in the form of data such as the examples in (41):

- (41) a. Je t' ordonne de **ne plus jamais ne rien** faire (Muller (1991: 325))
 I you order of *ne plus jamais ne rien* do-INF
 'I order you never again not to do anything.'
 (= 'I order you always to do something in future.')

²⁴ Acquaviva (1995) envisages analysing *ne* as a Q° taking the adverb *pas* as its complement. Quite apart from our feeling that a syntactic account is in fact unneeded, it seems to us that Acquaviva's (1995) proposal is untenable since it provides no structural position for the CP, [*que S*], which follows *pas* in this construction.

- b. - Il serait criminel de ne pas partir
 It be-COND criminal of *ne pas* leave-INF
 'It would be a crime not to leave.'
- Au contraire, il serait criminel de ne pas ne pas partir
 To-the contrary, it be-COND criminal of *ne pas ne pas* leave-INF
 'On the contrary, it would be a crime not to not leave.'
 (= 'On the contrary, it would be a crime to stay.')

Here, within a single infinitival clause, there are multiple instances of *ne*. These data are a problem for any analysis of negation (such as the NegP hypothesis) in terms of a single functional projection per clause as the locus of polarity features. Assuming that these are monoclausal structures, we would expect a single NegP to be projected, and a single *ne* at most to be licensed. Yet the constituency of the examples as well as their interpretation suggest two fully-fledged negative NegPs, one cancelling out the other. Yet, even if we admit two instances of NegP in these clauses, we still have the issue of *ne* to deal with: in section 1.3.1 above, we assumed that *ne* is a clitic which raises to AgrS°. Clearly this is not a possible analysis for both instances of *ne* in the examples in (41) (assuming a single AgrSP projection). In the second part of (41b), the first *pas* which, as we shall see below and in chapter 2, is a phrasal constituent, intervenes between the two instances of *ne*, casting serious doubt on any suggestion that both cases of *ne* have cliticised onto the same AgrS°. The same applies to the sequence *plus jamais* in (41a) which also intervenes between two instances of *ne*.

How, then, can we account for the presence of two instances of *ne* in each case? Is this a further case of hypercorrection? This seems unlikely since the interpretation of (41a) is reversed if the second *ne* is omitted; as in (42): the second *ne* is clearly crucial for the correct interpretation of the example.

- (42) Je t' ordonne de ne plus jamais rien faire
 I you order of *ne plus jamais rien* do-INF
 'I order you never to anything again.'
 (= the opposite of (41a))

Are we wrong to assume monoclausal structures for the infinitival clauses in (41)? Could each *ne* be generated under Neg° within its own clause and raised to its own AgrS°²⁵?

²⁵ Hirschbühler & Labelle (1992/3: 40, (18)) suggest an analysis in terms of NegP-recursion within the same clause. This proposal has the weakness of failing to account for the fact that the phenomenon in text examples (3) is restricted to infinitival contexts. If NegP-recursion is to be admitted, a principled reason needs to be found for why similar effects are not attested in finite clauses.

Such an analysis does admittedly have a number of attractions in that it allows us to maintain our central assumptions. It allows us to continue to assume: (a) that a single NegP is available per clause; (b) that *ne* is generated as Neg°; and, (c) that *ne* cliticises onto AgrS°. The weakness of the proposal is that it entails concluding that the infinitival clauses in (41) are bi-clausal structures. We know of no other motivation for such a conclusion.

While accepting that empirical considerations such as those presented here are somewhat problematic for an analysis which does no more than conclude that *ne* is the realisation of Neg°, we shall continue to assume that this is the correct analysis of *ne*, leaving the problems for future research.

1.3.3 The position of NegP

Turning now to the location of NegP within clause structure, Ouhalla (1990) suggests that there is no universally applicable ordering²⁶. Rather, hierarchical ordering of NegP in relation to other functional projections is argued by Ouhalla (1990) to be subject to parametric variation, determined by what he terms the *Neg Parameter*. With respect to French, for example, in which the negative marker generated under Neg°, *ne*, is a clitic, its surface position is not going to reflect the underlying position of NegP since the marker cliticises onto AgrS°²⁷. Consequently, it will be the position of *pas*, which, following Pollock (1989), we assume occupies SpecNegP (at S-structure), which will indicate the location of NegP in clause structure. Consider in this context (19) above, repeated here for convenience:

(19) *Canonical French clause structure:*

[_{CP} C° [_{AgrSP} AgrS° [*pas* [_{TP} T° [*souvent* [_{MoodP} Mood° [_{VP} V°]]]]]]]

In (19), the position occupied by *pas* is between AgrS° and T°. We assume therefore that NegP intervenes between AgrSP and TP, as in (43):

(43) *Canonical French clause structure (revised):*

[_{CP} C° [_{AgrSP} AgrS° [_{NegP} [_{Spec} *pas*] Neg° [_{TP} T° [(*souvent*) [_{MoodP} Mood° [_{VP} V°]]]]]]]

Within the framework of (43), *ne* is generated under Neg° and subsequently cliticises onto AgrS°. The semantics and licensing conditions of *ne* in the modern language are discussed

²⁶ See also Zanuttini (1991) and Pollock (1993).

²⁷ See section 1.3.1.

in the next two sections. As for the other negative markers in French, *pas* will be dealt with in chapter 2. Consideration of the 'negative' adverbs (*plus* 'no more/any more', *jamais* '(n)ever' and *guère* 'hardly') and the 'negative' arguments (*rien* 'anything/nothing' and *personne* 'anyone/no-one') will be postponed until chapters 4 and 5 respectively.

1.3.4 French *ne* as inherently negative?

In this section and the next, we turn our attention specifically to the properties of the lexical item which, in some varieties of Modern French, is the realisation of Neg°, i.e., *ne*. A number of facts relating to *ne* point to the conclusion that this element is not inherently negative in the modern language²⁸. First, pre-verbal *ne* is insufficient to mark negation, as in (44), except with a very restricted set of pseudo-modal verbs such as *savoir* 'to know', *oser* 'to dare' and *pouvoir* 'to be able', as in (45)²⁹, or frozen archaic expressions or proverbs, as in (46):

- (44) ★Je *ne* fais mon travail
 I *ne* do my work
 'I'm not doing my work.'
- (45) a. Pierre *ne* savait quoi faire
 P. *ne* knew what do-INF
 'P. didn't know what to do.'
- b. Je *n'* osais venir
 I *ne* dared come-INF
 'I didn't dare come.'
- c. On *ne* peut vous aider
 one *ne* can you help-INF
 'We cannot help you.'

²⁸ Of course, this has not always been the case. See chapter 3, sections 3.2.1, 3.2.2 and 3.6.2 and the references in chapter 3, footnote 5 for discussion of the history of negation in French. In a recent study, Acquaviva (1995) addresses the issue of whether Modern French *ne* is or is not inherently negative but does not come to a firm conclusion one way or the other.

²⁹ Note that these verbs can be negated by *ne* alone only if they take an infinitival complement. The examples in (i), in which this condition is not met, are ungrammatical:

- (i) a. ★Pierre *ne* sait la réponse
 P. *ne* knows the answer
 b. ★On *ne* le peut
 one *ne* it-CL can
 c. ★Je *n'* osais
 I *ne* dared

- (46) a. Ne vous en déplaît
 ne you of-it displease
 ‘If you will.’
- b. Il n’ est pire eau que l’ eau qui dort
 it *ne* is worse water than the water which sleeps
 ‘Still waters run deep.’
- c. N’ ayez crainte!
 ne have fear
 ‘Fear not!’

Second, as pointed out above in footnote 4, *ne* can be omitted from negative utterances in most spoken varieties of French. Indeed, in Québécois, *ne* is almost never overt (Sankoff & Vincent (1977)). The pre-verbal element *ne* is not essential to the expression of negation. So, alongside (47a), (47b) is also acceptable in the spoken language.

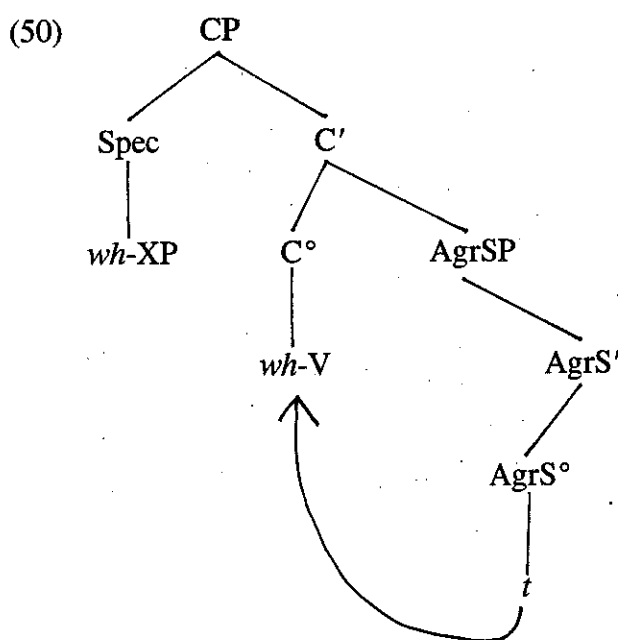
- (47) a. Je n’ ai pas faim
 b. J’ Ø ai pas faim
 I (*ne*) have *pas* hunger
 ‘I’m not hungry.’

Third, *ne* has what is known as an ‘expletive’ use. Here, *ne* appears in the complement of adversative predicates and comparatives, for example, in which it does not have negative force, as in (48). In (49), note that the fear expressed in the complement clause in (49a) is the opposite of the fear expressed in (49b), even though both contain *ne*. The significant expression of negation is clearly *pas*, absent from (49a), but present in (49b), rather than *ne* which can freely be omitted in both and seems only to indicate register.

- (48) a. Je doute qu’ il *ne* soit là
 I doubt that he *ne* be-SUBJ there
 ‘I doubt he’s there.’
- b. Marie est plus grande que n’ est son frère
 M. is more tall than *ne* is her brother
 ‘M. is taller than her brother is.’
- (49) a. Elle a peur que tu *ne* sois là
 She has fear that you *ne* be-SUBJ there
 ‘She’s worried you might be there.’
- b. Elle a peur que tu *ne* sois pas là
 She has fear that you *ne* be-SUBJ *pas* there
 ‘She’s worried you might *not* be there.’

The contrast between (47a) and (48) could be taken as evidence to suggest that there are in fact two homophonous lexical items *ne* in the modern language: one negative, one non-negative. We would like to reject this possibility. Rather, we suggest that there is a single *ne* in Modern French, and that it is not inherently negative. Where *ne* is overt and is interpreted negatively, as, for example, in (47a), it does so by virtue of its relationship with a negative operator, e.g., *pas* in SpecNegP. We assume that Rizzi's (1995: 76) mechanism of Dynamic Agreement (henceforth, DA) is responsible for endowing the negative head – and, hence, the whole clause (Haegeman (1995:107)) – with the [+NEG] feature of the specifier.

DA is used by Rizzi (1995) within the context of *wh*-movement. Rizzi assumes that, where *wh*-expressions are fronted, as in typical *wh*-questions, the *wh*-XP in SpecCP and C° itself agree with respect to the feature [+WH]. Of course, fronting of a *wh*-XP is often accompanied by movement of the finite verb from AgrS° to C°. Indeed, subject-auxiliary inversion can be motivated if it is assumed that (the finite verb in) AgrS° bears the feature [+WH] and moves into C° in order for C° and SpecCP to agree, as in (50).



Of course, AgrS°-to-C° movement cannot be motivated on the basis of the distribution of *wh*-features alone. One might assume, for example, that the verb bearing *wh*-features could happily remain in AgrS° while the *wh*-XP occupies SpecCP. To motivate the movement of the verb to the C° position, Rizzi further assumes a wellformedness condition on *wh*-constituents, known as the *wh*-criterion (cf. May (1985: 17)):

(51) *The wh-criterion:*

- a. Each *wh*-X° must be in a spec-head relationship with a *wh*-operator;

b. Each *wh*-operator must be in a spec-head relationship with a *wh*-X°.

- (52) a. When are you coming?
b. ★When you are coming?

Indeed, the obligatory nature of subject-auxiliary inversion in matrix *wh*-questions in English, as illustrated in (52), is attributed to (51): the verb, marked [+WH], moves to C° to produce the required configuration. We return to the *wh*-criterion in section 1.4.

In some languages, however, subject-auxiliary inversion is not required in *wh*-questions. One such language is French. In French, subject-auxiliary inversion is possible – but not necessary – in matrix *wh*-questions, as shown in (53), in which the *wh*-XP has fronted (to SpecCP, we assume) but the verb has not inverted to C°.

- (53) Où tu vas?
where you go
'Where are you going?'

- (54) [_{CP} Où [_{C'} C° [_{AgrSP} tu vas]]] ?

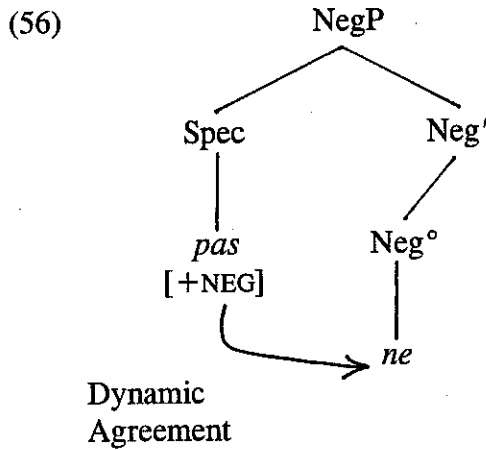
Rather than assuming that, in such cases, the *wh*-criterion fails to apply, Rizzi suggests that DA allows the [+WH] feature to be transmitted from the *wh*-expression in SpecCP to the non-overt C°. He schematises DA as in (55):

- (55) *Dynamic Agreement:* (Rizzi (1995: 76))
Op X ⇒ Op X
WH WH WH

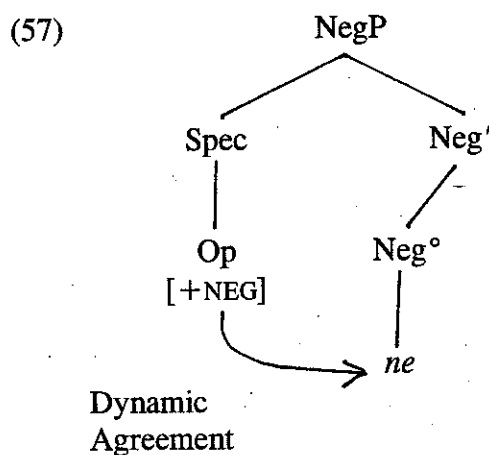
DA is therefore a mechanism for endowing a syntactic head with the feature(s) of its specifier³⁰. The availability of DA is deemed to be subject to parametric variation. Thus, it is available in French but not in English, hence the contrast between (53) and (52b).

We would like to propose that the same mechanism which endows the C° head with the feature [+WH] in (53) is also responsible for endowing the Neg° head with the feature [+NEG] in a negative clause such as (47a):

³⁰ Note that DA is unidirectional, passing features from specifier to head, but not *vice versa*. This will be important in chapter 3, section 3.4.2.



Turning now to the cases in (45), in which *ne* is the sole overt marker of sentential negation, one might wonder where the [+NEG] feature comes from given our assumption that *ne* itself is not inherently negative. To account for these data, we would like to propose the existence of a non-overt operator, Op, which bears the feature [+NEG], occupies SpecNegP in these examples and, by virtue of DA, can transmit its negative feature to *ne* in Neg^o:



³¹ Op[+NEG] is what Haegeman (1995) labels Op_{cont}, i.e., the non-overt contentive (negative) operator. While we do not intend to discuss the syntax of the French *ne...que* construction 'only', we do assume that Op[+NEG] will provide a key to the interpretation of the construction:

- (i) Jean ne voit que Marie
 J. *ne* sees *que* M.
 'J. can only see M.'

We assume that Op[+NEG] occupies SpecNegP at the relevant stage of the derivation. Op[+NEG] is then responsible for the negation to which [*que...*] provides the exception. Such an approach to this construction avoids the need to pursue the path followed by Acquaviva (1995) in assuming that *ne* must have some sort of inherent negativity. Op[+NEG] will in addition be central to our analysis of the 'negative' adverbs and arguments in chapters 4 and 5.

Op in (57) can be regarded as the negative equivalent of the non-overt *wh*-operator (Haegeman (1995: 98-100)), Op[+WH], assumed to occupy SpecCP in yes-no questions such as (58) and whose presence triggers subject-auxiliary inversion:

- (58) a. Have you finished?
 b. [_{CP} Op[+WH] [_{C'} have_i [_{AgrSP} you *t_i* finished]]] ?

Evidence to support the claim that SpecNegP is occupied by a non-overt operator in the examples in (45) comes from opacity effects. Opacity effects are illustrated in (59) and are commonly attributed to Relativized Minimality violations (Rizzi (1990)). Consider the contrast between (59a) and (59b). In (59a), the fronted *wh*-expression can be associated with either the matrix or the embedded predicate; in (59b), it cannot. In (59b), it can only be associated with the matrix predicate. Assuming that a *wh*-XP such as *pourquoi* 'why' is generated AgrSP-adjoined, the unavailability of the second interpretation in the case of (59b) can be explained in the following way: the presence of *pas* in the matrix SpecNegP counts as a potential antecedent A'-governor for the trace of the *wh*-expression extracted from the embedded clause. The second reading is therefore unavailable because of Relativized Minimality.

- (59) a. Pourquoi avez-vous dit que Jean était absent?
 Why have-you said that J. was absent
 'Why did you say J. was absent?'
 b. Pourquoi n'avez-vous pas dit que Jean était absent?
 Why *ne* have-you *pas* said that J. was absent
 'Why didn't you say that J. was absent?'

Now, consider (60a). Once again, this *wh*-question is ambiguous. The fronted *wh*-expression can be associated with either the matrix or the embedded predicate.

- (60) a. Pour quelle raison osais-tu lui téléphoner?
 For what reason dared you to-him call-INF
Either: ≈ 'What was it that made you dare phone him?'
Or: ≈ 'What was the reason for the phone call you dared to make to him?'
 b. Pour quelle raison n'osais-tu lui téléphoner?
 For what reason *ne* dared you to-him call-INF
 'Why didn't you dare call him?'
 ≠ 'What was the reason for the phone call to him you didn't dare make?'

In contrast, the second reading is unavailable in (60b). Given the absence of *pas*, we assume that the Relativized Minimality effects are to be attributed to the presence of a non-

overt operator in SpecNegP. In our terms, this non-overt operator is negative Op, the source of the [+NEG] feature transmitted to Neg° by DA.

Opacity effects – or, rather, the lack of opacity effects – can also be used as evidence to support the claim that expletive *ne* in (48) and (49a) really is non-negative, a welcome outcome since, as its name suggests, expletive *ne* is not interpreted negatively. Generally, we have been assuming that, where *ne* is interpreted negatively at all, this can be attributed to its relationship with an operator, *pas* or Op[+NEG], in SpecNegP. In addition, this operator has been argued to be responsible for the opacity effects discussed above. What is significant about expletive *ne* is that opacity effects are not in fact attested, as shown by the example in (61). It would, of course, be nice to be able to attribute the lack of opacity effects as well as the expletive interpretation of *ne* to one and the same fact, and this is indeed what we would like to do. In (61), the *wh*-expression can be associated with any of the predicates in the clause. Most significantly for our purposes, it can be associated with the most deeply embedded verb, despite the presence of *ne* in the immediately superior clause. The fact that extraction of *pourquoi* from the most embedded clause to the matrix SpecCP does not lead to a Relativized Minimality violation suggests that there is no intervening A'-operator in SpecNegP in the middle clause to count as a closer potential antecedent for the trace of *pourquoi* in the embedded clause. The non-negative expletive interpretation of *ne* and the absence of opacity effects are then reduced to the absence of any (negative) operator in SpecNegP.

- (61) Pourquoi crains-tu qu' elle ne dise qu' elle t' aime?
 Why fear you that she *ne* say-SUBJ that she you loves
 'Why are you afraid she might say she loves you?'

The same point is made by the example in (62), taken from Haegeman (1995: 161, (5b)):

- (62) Comment crains-tu qu' il ne se comporte?
 How fear you that he *ne* REFL behaves
 'How do you fear he will behave'

Here, *comment* 'how' is a manner adverb which can be construed with the embedded clause. Expletive *ne* does not therefore give rise to a blocking effect. Given the assumptions we are making here, we therefore conclude that no non-overt operator occupies SpecNegP in the embedded clause.

One final piece of evidence we shall use to support our claim that expletive *ne* is not accompanied by a non-overt operator in SpecNegP concerns the licensing of partitive and

pseudo-partitive indefinite direct objects. We shall postpone detailed discussion of the licensing of these structures until chapter 2, section 2.3.1, and content ourselves with pointing out the empirical contrast below. The indefinite direct object in (63a) has what we shall term a partitive structure; the pseudo-partitive direct object in (63b) is ungrammatical:

- (63) a. J'ai acheté **des** livres
 I have bought of-the books
 'I bought some books.'
- b. ★J'ai acheté **de** livres
 I have bought of books

Pseudo-partitive direct objects can be licensed in a number of ways, such as by a quantifier like *beaucoup* 'lots' in (64a), negative *pas* in (64b) or the non-overt negative operator assumed to be present in (64c).

- (64) a. J'ai beaucoup acheté **de** livres
 I have lots bought of books
 'I bought lots of books.'
- b. Je n' ai pas acheté **de** livres
 I *ne* have *pas* bought of books
 'I didn't buy any books.'
- c. Je ne peux acheter **de** livres
 I *ne* can buy-INF of books
 'I can't buy any books.'

The generalisation (which will be explored in more detail in chapter 2, section 2.3.1) seems to be that pseudo-partitive direct objects are licensed in the presence of a c-commanding operator. Crucially, though, pseudo-partitive direct objects are not licensed by expletive *ne*:

- (65) a. ★Je crains qu' il n' ait acheté **de** livres
 I fear that he *ne* have-SUBJ bought of books
- b. Je crains qu' il n' ait acheté **des** livres
 I fear that he *ne* have-SUBJ bought of-the books
 'I'm worried he might have bought some books.'

We take this as further evidence to suggest that expletive *ne* is not accompanied by a non-overt operator in SpecNegP. Of course, such a conclusion allows a unified account of the interpretation of *ne* and the licensing of pseudo-partitive objects. While *ne* is assumed to be non-negative underlyingly, it can be endowed with the negative features of a negative

operator in SpecNegP (*pas* or Op[+NEG]). The absence of such an operator therefore has a number of consequences: first, *ne* will not be interpreted negatively; second, opacity effects will not be produced; third, pseudo-partitive objects will not be licensed. Having considered the semantics of *ne* and concluded that this element is not inherently negative, we now turn to consider the licensing conditions of *ne*.

1.3.5 Licensing *ne*

In the modern language, pre-verbal *ne* cannot freely occur in a clause. We attribute this fact to the specific licensing conditions of *ne*.

- (66) ★Marie n' aime Paul
M. *ne* likes P.

We would like to suggest that *ne* can be licensed in either (or both) of two ways. On the one hand, it is licensed by (indirect) selection (i.e., government); on the other, it can be licensed by spec-head agreement. The first possibility is exemplified by expletive *ne* discussed above. What is particular about expletive *ne* is that its availability is determined by the immediately superior predicate. Thus, in (67) (= (49a)), expletive *ne* is licensed in the embedded clause because of the presence of the adversative predicate *avoir peur* 'to fear' in the matrix clause.

- (67) Elle a peur que tu ne sois là
She has fear that you *ne* be-SUBJ there
'She's worried you might be there.'

We shall assume that there is some indirect selection relationship between the matrix predicate and the embedded Neg° (mediated by C° at the very least) and that it is this relationship which licenses expletive *ne* in the embedded clause³². The matrix predicate selects a CP whose head C° bears a specific feature which ensures that a specific kind of AgrSP is selected, and so on down to Neg° at which point expletive *ne* is licensed.

The second way in which *ne* can be licensed, namely by S-structure spec-head agreement, can be exemplified by straightforward examples of clauses negated by *pas*, as in (68) (= (47a)).

³² The same extended selection relationship can also be seen to license the subjunctive morphology on the verb.

- (68) Je n' ai pas faim
 I ne have *pas* hunger
 'I'm not hungry.'

Assuming, as in section 1.3.3 above, and following standard assumptions since Pollock (1989), that *pas* occupies SpecNegP at S-structure, we conclude that DA is responsible for transmitting the feature [+NEG] to Neg°, as in (56), and hence licensing *ne*.

In (69) (= (49b)), we assume that *ne* is in fact 'doubly' licensed, i.e., by selection (by the matrix predicate *avoir peur* 'to fear') and by spec-head agreement (with *pas*):

- (69) Elle a peur que tu ne sois pas là
 She has fear that you ne be-SUBJ *pas* there
 'She's worried you might *not* be there.'

Crucially, licensing is required by one means or another. This assumption is necessary to explain the ungrammaticality of (66) and will be an important consideration in the discussion of 'negative' adverbs and arguments in chapters 4 and 5.

The important difference between the licensing mechanisms proposed for expletive *ne* in (67) and negative *ne* in (68) is that expletive *ne* does not require the presence of an operator in SpecNegP in order to be licensed. In fact, in the previous section, we offered a number of reasons to conclude that no non-overt operator occupies SpecNegP in the case of expletive *ne*. Under the generally accepted assumption that the type of opacity effect which excludes one of the feasible interpretations of (59b/60b) is due to a Relativized Minimality violation, i.e., the fact that the A'-operator in SpecNegP prevents proper government of the trace of the extracted A'-operator by its antecedent since it counts as a closer potential A'-governor, we assume that the availability of all feasible interpretations means that no such A'-operator occupies SpecNegP in (61). Were such an operator to occupy this position, we would expect the same opacity effects, contrary to fact. So, expletive *ne* cannot in fact be deemed to be licensed by spec-head agreement with an operator in SpecNegP because no such operator is present in that position. Of course, such a conclusion supports our analysis of the licensing mechanism of expletive *ne*, i.e., by extended selection.

Having presented our assumptions about the syntactic representation of sentential negation, and our conclusions regarding the semantics and licensing conditions of *ne* in Modern French, we now turn to the AFFECT criterion: a wellformedness condition deemed to determine the distribution and interpretation, not only of *wh*-expressions, but negative expressions too.

1.4 The AFFECT criterion

In section 1.3.4 above, we saw that the *wh*-criterion in (51) can be used to motivate the type of subject-auxiliary inversion attested in matrix *wh*-questions in English and explain the contrast between (52a) and (52b). In fact, interrogative structures are not the only ones which, in English, for example, trigger subject-auxiliary inversion. Compare (70) with (71):

- (70) a. *Not for a million dollars* would Adam be unfaithful
b. ★*Not for a million dollars* Adam would be unfaithful

- (71) a. ★*Not long afterwards* did Susan die
b. *Not long afterwards* Susan died

In (70), the italicised preposed negative constituent triggers inversion, what Rizzi (1995) refers to as residual V2; in (71), in contrast, it does not. The essential difference between the two grammatical sentences is that (70a) is a negative sentence (marked by abstract features on the verb) while (71b) is not. This can be verified by means of a simple test, namely tag question formation³³. English statements can be continued with a tag question when the speaker is looking for confirmation, for example, from the hearer. Examples are given in (72):

- (72) a. Susan's pregnant, isn't she?
b. Bob can't come, can he?

Tag questions with this function are formed by repeating the auxiliary verb from the antecedent, reversing its polarity and pronominalising the subject. The crucial aspect of these tag questions is the necessary polarity reversal. In (72a), the antecedent is positive, so the tag is negative, and *vice versa* in (72b). If the polarity is not reversed, the tag question fails to fulfil the same function³⁴. Now, consider (70a) and (71b) again, repeated below complete with (confirmation-seeking) tag questions:

- (73) a. *Not for a million dollars* would Adam be unfaithful, **would** he?

³³ See Lakoff (1969).

³⁴ Consider (i), in which the polarity of the tag matches that of the statement. Here, the function of the tag is to express doubt or disbelief.

(i) Susan's pregnant, is she?

For some reason, such tags are not possible in negative clauses:

(ii) ★Bob can't come, can't he?

b. *Not long afterwards* Susan died, **didn't** she?

The fact that (70a) is a negative sentence is shown by the positive polarity of the tag in (73a); the fact that the tag in (73b) is negative indicates that (71b) is positive. In (70a), then, the preposed negative constituent is a negative operator which takes sentential scope, endowing a functional head in clause structure with the feature [+NEG] and producing a negative sentence. In (71b), in contrast, the scope of negation is restricted to the sentence-initial constituent; negation does not take scope over the entire clause³⁵.

We are not interested here in determining how it is that the negative constituent in (70) counts as an operator while the one in (71) does not. Let us assume, for the sake of concreteness, that the [+NEG] feature manages to percolate up to the highest node of the preposed constituent in (70) but fails to do so in (71) and that the constituent *not long afterwards* in (71b) will not be negative in any relevant sense.

Under the assumption that negative operators such as the one in (70a) move to SpecCP in the syntax as a reflex of the LF property that A'-specifier positions are canonical scope positions (Rizzi (1990: 20)), what we are interested in here is why the presence in sentence-initial position of a negative operator in (70a) triggers subject-auxiliary inversion, i.e., AgrS°-to-C° movement. In the earliest generative work in this area (i.e., Klima (1964: 313)), an 'attraction' transformation for 'affective' (but not factive) operators was posited, pulling the verb to the operator over the subject. More recently, Rizzi (1995) has suggested that affective operators are subject to a licensing requirement expressed in terms of spec-head agreement: 'affective operators must be in a spec-head configuration with a head marked with the relevant affective feature'. This wellformedness condition was formulated in Haegeman (1992b) as the AFFECT criterion³⁶:

³⁵ The operator/non-operator distinction between the two preposed constituents in (70) and (71) is probably the reason why, in the first case, preposing is obligatory while, in the second case, it is not:

- (i) a. ★Adam would be unfaithful not for a million dollars
b. Susan died not long afterwards

³⁶ With respect to the level of representation at which the AFFECT criterion must be met, there is some disagreement in the literature. In his adoption of the *wh*-criterion, of which the AFFECT criterion is deemed to be a more general formulation, Rizzi (1990; 1995) assumes that it applies at LF universally, but that it may, in some languages, be met as early as S-structure. The possibility that the criterion could be met in the base, i.e., at D-structure, is not explicitly considered. Haegeman (1995), following suggestions made by Brody (1995), argues that the Neg Criterion applies universally at S-structure.

(74) *The AFFECT criterion:*

- a. Each AFFECTIVE X° must be in a spec-head relationship with an AFFECTIVE operator;
- b. Each AFFECTIVE operator must be in a spec-head relationship with an AFFECTIVE X° .

Rizzi (1995) defines an operator as an XP (bearing the relevant features) occupying a left-peripheral A'-position, i.e., an adjoined position or a specifier position.

The AFFECT criterion in (74) obliges an XP of a certain type to be in a spec-head configuration with an X° of a certain type, and provides an explanation for the inversion witnessed in sentences with initial negative operators, such as (70a). Suppose that the sentence-initial negative constituent in (70a) bears the AFFECTIVE feature [+NEG]. Given that (70a) – in contrast to (71b) – is in fact a negative sentence, suppose further, following Haegeman (1995: 107), that the AFFECTIVE feature [+NEG] is also borne by AgrS° , realised on the verb. What the AFFECT criterion in (74) will do given such assumptions is oblige the finite verb and negative operator to be in a spec-head configuration. The domain in which this can be achieved is above the traditional AgrSP domain, and we assume it to be within CP. The operator occupies SpecCP by virtue of the scope properties of this A'-specifier position, as discussed above, and the finite verb will raise to C° in order to satisfy the AFFECT criterion, resulting in inversion.

We assume that the same reason underlies inversion in root non-*wh*-interrogatives in languages like English:

- (75) a. Have you done your homework?

Here, we posit a phonologically null but syntactically active *wh*-operator which has moved into SpecCP for the reasons outlined above³⁷. Once in that position, the AFFECT criterion will oblige the finite verb to raise into C° . We therefore assume that (75a) above can be represented as (75b) below:

- (75) b. [_{CP} Op[+WH] [_{C'} have_i [_{AgrSP} you t_i done your homework]]] ?

Thus, the AFFECT criterion can be seen to be doing the work, i.e., be a more general version, of the *wh*-criterion and the Neg Criterion below.

³⁷ Acquaviva (1993: 11) suggests this null operator is probably responsible for the opacity effects triggered by *if* in (i):

(i) ★How do you wonder if John behaved?

(76) *The Neg Criterion:*

- a. Each Neg X° must be in a spec-head relationship with a Neg operator;
- b. Each Neg operator must be in a spec-head relationship with a Neg X°.

(77) *The wh-criterion:*

- a. Each wh-X° must be in a spec-head relationship with a wh-operator;
- b. Each wh-operator must be in a spec-head relationship with a wh-X°.

Despite the fact that the two criteria in (76) and (77) are nothing more than construction-specific versions of the same principle, we shall, in subsequent chapters, often refer to the individual criteria rather than the more general AFFECT criterion. The Neg Criterion in particular will be mentioned at various points.

1.5 Summary

In the main body of this chapter, we have endeavoured to set out our assumptions about Verb Movement and sentential negation in Modern French. Having argued in favour of an ‘exploded’ Infl, i.e., a model of clause structure recognising a number of functional categories associated with verbal inflectional morphology ((CP-)AgrSP-TP-MoodP(-VP)), we concluded that Verb Movement patterns are determined: (a) by the finiteness of the verb (all finite verbs in French raise to AgrS°; not all infinitives do); and, (b) by the nature of the verb (auxiliary, modal and lexical infinitives have divergent Verb Movement patterns in French). The conclusions were set out in (35), repeated here:

(35) *Overt Verb Movement patterns in French:*

- a. All finite verbs move to AgrS°.
- b'. Infinitival auxiliaries (*être, avoir*) freely move to Mood°, T° or AgrS°.
- b''. Infinitival modal verbs (*pouvoir, devoir*, etc.) move to Mood° or T°, *and only exceptionally to AgrS°*.
- b'''. Infinitival lexical verbs move to Mood° or T°, but not as far as AgrS°.

We then went on to argue for a further functional projection in clause structure, namely NegP, whose head is the locus of features determining clausal polarity. In French, it was concluded that NegP is located between AgrSP and TP. Following Pollock (1989), we assume that SpecNegP can be occupied at S-structure by *pas*. Further, it was argued that Neg° is the base position of pre-verbal *ne* (in those varieties in which this element is overt). The element *ne* itself was not concluded to be inherently negative. As for the licensing mechanisms of *ne*, we concluded that this element can be licensed in one (or both) of two ways. First, negative *ne* is licensed by spec-head agreement with an inherently negative operator, overt *pas* or non-overt Op, in SpecNegP. Rizzi's DA then

ensures that the feature [+NEG] is transmitted to *ne* in Neg°, guaranteeing a negative interpretation for the clause. Second, expletive *ne* – which can only appear in selected embedded contexts – is licensed by extended selection from the superordinate predicate. In this case, there is no operator in SpecNegP (a conclusion supported by the lack of opacity effects and the unavailability of pseudo-partitive objects), no DA and no negative interpretation for *ne* or the clause.

Finally, we addressed the syntax of affective elements in general, i.e., not just negative elements. Here, we concluded that the distribution and interpretation of affective elements such as negatives and interrogatives is governed by a universal principle, the AFFECT criterion, which, following Haegeman (1995), we assume to apply universally at S-structure.

(78) *The AFFECT criterion:*

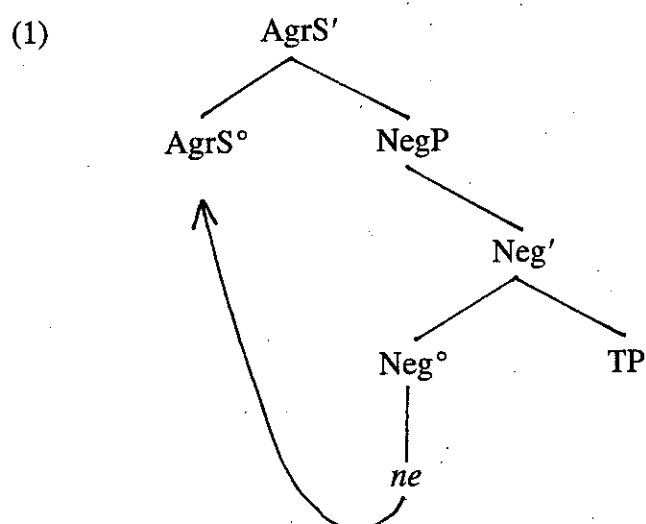
- a. Each AFFECTIVE X° must be in a spec-head relationship with an AFFECTIVE operator;
- b. Each AFFECTIVE operator must be in a spec-head relationship with an AFFECTIVE X°.

These conclusions will form the basis of the rest of this study. In the next chapter, we take a close look at the syntax of *pas*, concluding that, while its canonical S-structure position is clearly SpecNegP, this is never in fact its base position. In chapter 3, we put exclusively French issues to one side, considering instead a cross-linguistic generalisation due originally to Jespersen (1924) linking the nature of a given language's regular negative marker and the (un)availability of NC. The formulation of the fairly sturdy generalisation and the explanation proposed then lead to the somewhat controversial conclusion that French should not be – and indeed is not – an NC language. The conclusion is supported at the end of chapter 3 on the basis of diachronic data. In chapters 4 and 5, we apply the idea that French is a non-NC language to a syntactic analysis first of the negative adverbs *plus*, *jamais* and *guère* (chapter 4), and then of the negative arguments *rien* and *personne* (chapter 5). Here, we depend crucially on the non-overt negative operator, Op[+NEG], argued for in section 1.3.4 above.

The negative marker

2.1 Introduction

In chapter 1, we considered, among other things, the syntax and semantics of the element *ne* in French. Although there remain one or two unanswered questions with respect to the structural assumptions made there, it was concluded – following Pollock (1989: 414) and numerous researchers since – that, in those varieties of French in which *ne* actually appears in negative clauses, this element is the overt realisation of a functional head which we labelled Neg° , as in (1), and that, in the modern language, *ne* is a syntactic clitic which must raise to AgrS° at S-structure¹.



With respect to its underlying semantics, two factors led us to conclude, in chapter 1, section 1.3.4, that *ne* is not inherently negative in the modern language. First, where *ne* occurs alone in certain selected contexts, it is not interpreted negatively. Second, where *ne* can be argued to have a negative interpretation at all, this can be attributed to the fact the *ne* necessarily co-occurs with another (generally overt) ‘reinforcing’ or

¹ For discussion of the problems associated with assuming that *ne* is associated with a unique functional head, Neg° , in clause structure, see chapter 1, section 1.3.2. For references to work on ‘*ne*-drop’, see chapter 1, footnote 4. As discussed in chapter 1, section 1.3.1, footnote 21, in those varieties of French which demonstrate ‘*ne*-drop’, we assume that Neg° is nevertheless syntactically active and that it raises to AgrS° in the same way as its overt counterpart, *ne*. See also Acquaviva (1994: 113-4) for theoretical arguments that Neg° , null or overt, always raises to AgrS° .

'supporting' operator. The conclusion that *ne* is not underlyingly negative means that we expect the non-negative interpretation of selected 'expletive' *ne* and allows us to attribute the interpretation of negative *ne* to its 'parasitic' relationship with the negative operator, e.g., *pas*.

However, we shall see in this chapter that the conclusion that *ne* is not inherently negative does not mean that *ne* cannot bear 'affective' features in the sense of Klima (1964): indeed the fact that, in the modern language, negative *ne* needs to co-occur with another (generally overt) negative element or a negative polarity item (henceforth, NPI) may be motivated by Haegeman & Zanuttini's (henceforth, H&Z's) (1991: 244) Neg Criterion, itself a construction-specific instantiation of the more general AFFECT criterion, as discussed in chapter 1, section 1.4:

(2) *The Neg Criterion:*

- a. Each Neg X° must be in a spec-head relationship with a Neg operator;
- b. Each Neg operator must be in a spec-head relationship with a Neg X°.

If this assumption is along the right lines, negative *ne* must necessarily bear affective features². Movement of a negative XP to SpecNegP is therefore to be analysed as a way of satisfying clause (a) of the Neg Criterion, i.e., to license *ne* (or *ec*, the empty category which is its non-overt but syntactically active counterpart), rather than to license the negative XP³. Once in SpecNegP, the negative XP can pass on its [+NEG] feature to *ne/ec* by what Rizzi (1995: 76) terms Dynamic Agreement (henceforth, DA). This idea will be pursued in section 2.2.2 below.

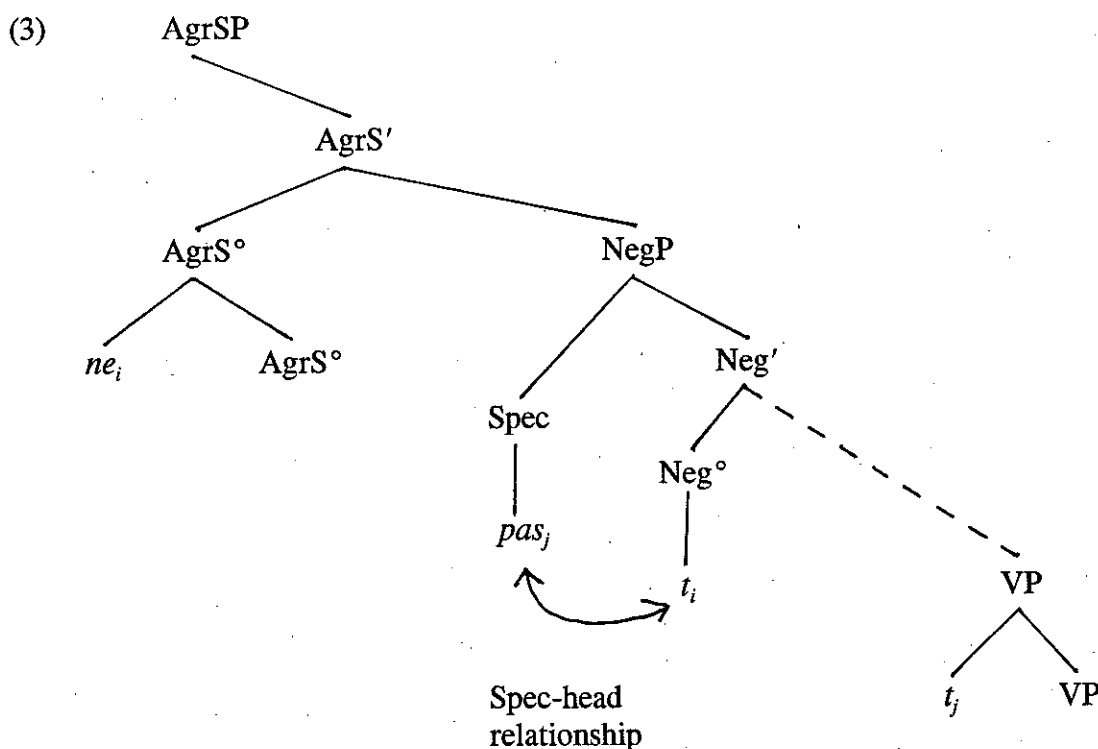
In this chapter, we move on from *ne* and direct our attention to the element *pas* which, in contrast to *ne*, is inherently negative in the modern language. Indeed, in chapter 1, we concluded that *pas* is one of the elements which can license *ne* by transmitting its [+NEG] feature by DA. Our main aim is to provide a syntactic analysis of *pas*⁴. The central idea behind the analysis proposed will be that, when used for sentential negation, *pas* does not occupy the same position at both D-structure and S-structure. Rather, it will be argued that, in underlying representation, *pas* stands in a modifier relation with the

² This is in contrast to expletive *ne* which, in chapter 1, sections 1.3.4 and 1.3.5, we assume not to be affective in the relevant sense since it does not co-occur with an operator.

³ However, movement to SpecNegP may allow the non-overt operator which can appear with verbs such as *pouvoir* 'to be able' to be identified by overt *ne*. See footnote 5.

⁴ The analysis presented in this chapter is based in part on Rowlett (1993a/c/d).

constituent being negated, typically VP which, given the VP-internal subject hypothesis of Kitagawa (1986), etc., is the minimal domain containing the verb and all its arguments. Consequently, an adverb adjoined to VP takes scope over all verbal arguments. The superficial position occupied by *pas* will be determined by those aspects of the grammar which govern the distribution of affective elements, e.g., the AFFECT criterion, instantiated as the Neg Criterion and which, in Modern French if not universally (see Haegeman (1995)), we assume to apply at S-structure. More specifically, it will be argued that, typically, *pas* moves, in the syntax, from a VP-adjoined position to SpecNegP where the Neg Criterion can be satisfied by virtue of the spec-head configuration created between *pas* and (the trace of) *ne*, as in the S-structure representation in (3):



The claim that *pas* occupies SpecNegP at S-structure is not new. In his seminal comparative work on negation in French and English in the tradition of Emonds (1978), Pollock (1989) concludes that *pas* is generated in SpecNegP. While we agree that *pas* occupies SpecNegP at S-structure, our analysis differs from Pollock's with respect to the base position of *pas*. For him, it is SpecNegP; for us, it is a lower position, one which reflects the fundamental relationship between negation and the predicate. In our analysis, overt movement of *pas* from its base position into SpecNegP is motivated by the Neg

Criterion, applicable at S-structure, on the basis of the properties of *ne* and *pas*⁵. In the course of the chapter, we advance empirical and theoretical arguments in support of the analysis.

With respect to the position in which *pas* is base-generated, we shall argue that the VP-adjoined position is attractive in that it fits in well with the adverbial function of *pas*. In section 2.2, we see that it has a number of empirical advantages over, for example, Pollock's claim that *pas* is generated in SpecNegP. In sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, we suggest that facts concerning negative imperatives in the modern language as well as diachronic data pertaining to the relative position of *pas* and lexical infinitives support the analysis proposed. In section 2.3, we consider a specific exception to the general property of *pas* being generated adjoined to VP, namely where it functions as what Battye (1987; 1989a/b; 1990; 1991) terms a 'nominal quantifier' and is base-generated within an indefinite nominal. In section 2.3.4.2, we see that extraction facts support this analysis. Our conclusions are summarised in section 2.4.

⁵ The issue arises as to whether raising of *pas* into SpecNegP should be attributed to one of the two clauses of the Neg Criterion, or to a joint effort by both. While the issue has no particular bearing on our analysis, we would suggest that it is clause (a) which is the more important here. In chapter 1, section 1.3.5, we saw that *ne* has specific licensing requirements. One way of licensing *ne* is for *pas* to occupy SpecNegP. The syntax of what we shall term 'true' negative imperatives, discussed in section 2.2.1, in which *pas* will be deemed not to raise into SpecNegP, as well as other, non-sentential uses of *pas* (e.g., the examples in (4)) suggest that *pas* does not, in fact, *have* to occupy SpecNegP in order to be licensed. Where movement to SpecNegP is required, then, we could assume that it is to fulfil the licensing requirements of the negative head – overt or otherwise – rather than those of the negative operator, *pas*, itself. Thus, clause (a) of the Neg Criterion is arguably what triggers raising of *pas* into SpecNegP. (See also Plunkett (1995) who argues that clause (b) of the *wh*-criterion could in fact be dispensed with.)

However, such an assumption leads to a problem. We argued in chapter 1, section 1.3.4 that *ne* is never inherently negative, i.e., that *ne* does not bear the feature [+NEG] underlyingly. Now, if this is true, as we assume, how can the Neg Criterion be deemed to be relevant to *ne*? If *ne* isn't negative, the Neg Criterion shouldn't apply to it. We see two possible ways out of this theoretical impasse. Either we assume that *ne* bears non-negative affective features. In other words, the (AFFECT) criterion can be assumed to apply without *ne* needing negative features. Alternatively, the criterion-based approach to the distribution and interpretation of affective elements such as negatives is abandoned altogether. On such an approach, *pas*-raising to SpecNegP would need to be motivated within some version of Checking Theory on the assumption that *ne* is 'weak' in some intuitive sense and needs to be 'identified' or 'supported' by virtue of its relationship with its specifier. We shall not deal with this issue any further here since it would take us too far afield. Rather, we shall continue to assume an approach to the empirical domain based on the Neg Criterion. However, we recognise that there are some important questions to be answered here. (The issue of the necessity of the Neg Criterion is briefly discussed in our review (Rowlett (forthcoming a)) of Haegeman (1995).)

2.2 Configuration 1: *pas* as an adverb

We would like to pursue a syntactic analysis of *pas* which is compatible with the fact that *pas* functions as an adverb, by which we mean to say no more than that it serves to modify something. In fact, Pollock (1989), in the context of his proposals for *pas*, noticed the distributional parallels between *pas* and adverbs. He notes (1989: 370, 377) that there is 'a significant correlation in French between the placement of negation and that of adverbs' both in tensed and infinitival clauses. Furthermore, as the examples in (4) serve to illustrate, the adverbial/modifier function of *pas* is not restricted to sentential contexts:

- | | | | |
|-----|----|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| (4) | a. | A: Ça-va? | How are you? |
| | | B: <i>Pas</i> mal. | Not bad. |
| | b. | A: Qui est-ce qui veut un café? | Who's for coffee? |
| | | B: <i>Pas</i> moi. | Not me. |
| | c. | <i>Pas</i> vrai! | Never! |
| | d. | <i>Pas</i> possible! | Impossible! |
| | e. | A: T'as du fric? | Got any money? |
| | | B: <i>Pas</i> un sou! | Not a penny. |

Zanuttini (1995a) notes further that the distribution of the equivalent to *pas* in other Romance varieties, e.g., Piedmontese *nen* and Milanese *minga*, also overlaps with some adverbs. She concludes that all these items are lexical adverbial elements generated in an adjoined position lower than NegP.

Within the terms of X'-syntax and primitive syntactic features, the categorial status of adverbs has always been a thorny issue. The functional, distributional and morphological similarities which some adverbs bear to adjectives have led a number of researchers (e.g., Emonds (1976: 12)) to subsume the two types of element under a single category, i.e., adjective-cum-adverb, bearing the feature specification [+N, +V]. Much more important than feature specification for our purposes, though, is a consideration of the type of structures adjectives-cum-adverbs appear in. Given the functional parallels between adjectives and adverbs noted above and the fact that adjectives are traditionally assumed to appear in adjunction structures, either to N' or to NP (within the context of Abney's (1987) DP hypothesis), we shall assume that adverbs too (irrespective of whether or not they are morphologically related to an adjective), including *pas* (but see section 2.3 below), are also generated in adjoined positions.

In the context of a sentence (negated with *pas*) containing either an intransitive verb

or a transitive verb governing a definite direct object⁶, we shall argue that negative *pas* is generated Chomsky-adjoined to the constituent it modifies, i.e., VP, as in (5)⁷. This reflects the fundamental relationship between *pas* and the predicate: *pas* is a negative predicate adverb. (Sportiche's (1988: 429) 'Adjunct Projection Principle' and Chomsky's (1986b: 16) general theory of adjunction, together, oblige 'modifiers' to appear adjacent to their non-argument XP 'modifiee' or the head of their 'modifiee'.)

(5) [_{VP} *pas* [_{VP}]]

While we would argue that our analysis of *pas* in terms of VP-adjunction in the base is conceptually well-motivated, our analysis has one problem which is avoided within Pollock's model, namely the fairly convincing evidence discussed in chapter 1, sections 1.2.2, 1.2.6 and 1.3.1, that, superficially, *pas* occupies SpecNegP, i.e., above the VP-adjoined position. We would like to propose that *pas* raises from its adjoined base position to SpecNegP as a consequence of the AFFECT/Neg Criterion, i.e., the principle which obliges constituents which bear affective features to appear in a specific configuration. In Modern French, we suggest that the Neg Criterion obliges *pas* to raise, at S-structure, to SpecNegP where it can satisfy the Neg Criterion by virtue of its configuration with (the trace of) *ne* in Neg°, as in (3) above.

In the next two sections, we present independent evidence suggesting that an analysis of *pas* in terms of VP-adjunction in the base followed by raising to SpecNegP is superior to an analysis in terms of base-generation in SpecNegP. In section 2.2.2, we suggest that diachronic facts concerning the relative position of *pas* and lexical infinitives support the *pas*-raising analysis. But first, in section 2.2.1, we see that the syntax of negative imperatives is incompatible with the claim that *pas* is base-generated in SpecNegP.

2.2.1 Synchronic evidence: negative imperatives

In this section, based in part on Rowlett (1993c: 7-11, section 2.2), we present synchronic data which, we suggest, are incompatible with a syntactic analysis of *pas* such as the one proposed by Pollock (1989) in which the element is assumed to be generated in SpecNegP.

⁶ For contexts in which *pas* negates a sentence containing a transitive verb governing an indefinite direct object, see section 2.3 below.

⁷ In her discussion of bipartite sentential negation in Navajo, Speas (1991b: 394-5) suggests that the post-verbal *da* marker is the overt realisation of Neg° while *doo*, which canonically appears immediately before the direct object, either occupies SpecNegP or an adverbial position.

It will be argued that, in cross-linguistic terms, the morphologically truncated structures of so-called 'true' imperatives suggest that such paradigms project truncated syntactic structures in which NegP (and all dominating structure) are not projected. The fact that such imperatives in French are nevertheless compatible with *pas* (as well as the fact that true imperatives in numerous other languages are compatible with adverbial negative markers but not head negative markers) undermines the claim that *pas* is uniquely associated with SpecNegP.

The analysis hinges on the assumption that there are two kinds of (negative) imperatives in French, and is based on the data in the next section and recent work by María-Luisa Rivero (1994) and Raffaella Zanuttini (1990; 1991; 1994a; 1995a). Following these authors, we assume that the difference between the two kinds of imperative is position: one kind of imperative occupies a different position from the other. In the two subsequent sections, we discuss theoretical approaches to the distinction proposed by Rivero (1994) and Zanuttini (1990; etc.) respectively. While we ultimately reject Rivero's analysis, we show that Zanuttini's offers interesting insights into the morphological and syntactic properties of imperatives. Finally, we show how the syntax of negative imperatives suggests that *pas* in French is not uniquely associated with SpecNegP.

2.2.1.1 *The data*

Negative imperatives in French can, under certain conditions, appear with either tonic or atonic complement pronouns. Tonic forms are always post-verbal, as in (6); atonic ones are always pre-verbal, as in (7)⁸. We assume that the nature of the complement pronouns is determined by the kind of imperative being used. Given that, as in the previous section, we assume that the 'kind' of the imperative is, in turn, determined by its position, we effectively claim that the nature/position (tonic/post-verbal vs. atonic/pre-verbal) of the complement pronoun(s) is ultimately determined by the position of the imperative verb. Note that pre-verbal forms cannot co-occur with post-verbal ones. This can be taken as evidence supporting an analysis of the difference between the two types of imperative based on position. If the pre-verbal atonic pronouns are licensed by virtue of the imperative occupying one specific position while the post-verbal tonic ones are licensed by virtue of the imperative occupying a different position, then we expect pre- and post-verbal pronouns to be mutually exclusive since the imperative cannot occupy both positions

⁸ In some cases, corresponding tonic and atonic pronouns are homophonous. We assume that this is a matter of coincidence, and does not detract from the conclusion that there are two independent sets of pronouns, with their own distinct properties.

simultaneously.

We assume, then, that the position/nature of the pronouns is determined by the position of the verb. A further feature which seems to be determined in the same way is the (un)availability of 'negative' *ne*. French imperatives can be negated using *pas* alone or with bipartite *ne...pas*. Interestingly, imperatives which license tonic pronouns are incompatible with *ne*, as in (6c), while no such incompatibility prevents imperatives which license atonic pronouns from co-occurring with *ne*, as in (7c). The conditions determining how the realisation of the complement pronouns interacts with negation are illustrated in (6) and (7), the grammaticality judgements for which are based on Muller (1991: 142):

- (6) a. Regarde- moi/Donne- le lui
 watch-IMP-me/ give-IMP-it to-him
 'Look at me.'/'Give it to him.'
- b. Regarde- moi pas/Donne- le lui pas
 watch-IMP-me pas/give-IMP-it to-him pas
 'Don't look at me.'/'Don't give it to him.'
- c. ★Ne regarde- moi pas/★Ne donne- le lui pas
ne watch-IMP-me pas/ *ne* give-IMP-it to-him pas
 (= (6b))
- (7) a. ★Me regarde /★Le lui donne
 me watch-IMP/ it to-him give-IMP
 (= (6a))
- b. Me regarde pas/Le lui donne pas
 me watch-IMP pas/it to-him give-IMP pas
 (= (6b))
- c. Ne me regarde pas/Ne le lui donne pas
ne me watch-IMP pas/*ne* it to-him give-IMP pas
 (= (6c))

On a purely descriptive level, observe that the pre-verbal pronouns are incompatible with positive imperatives: compare the grammatical (6a) with the ungrammatical (7a). We shall assume that, rather than being semantic in nature, this restriction is strictly syntactic: the position occupied by a positive imperative is such that pre-verbal pronouns cannot be licensed. The ungrammaticality of (7a) could be attributed to economy if the derivation of (6a) could be argued to be less costly than (7a). For example, if (6a) involves gratuitously generating more functional structure than (7a), then the unavailability of (7a) could be argued to follow from economy. We do not pursue this issue here.

As for negative imperatives, where the verb is negated by *pas* alone (without *ne*), it can be accompanied by either tonic or atonic pronouns (but not both – see above): (6b)

and (7b) are both grammatical. We assume the same position is occupied by the verbs in (6b) and (6a) and that this is reflected in the same position of the pronouns. In (7b), we assume that the atonic pre-verbal pronouns are licensed because the verb occupies a different position from the verb in (6a/b). Where the imperative is negated by bipartite *ne...pas*, the accompanying pronouns must be atonic and pre-verbal: compare the ungrammatical (6c) with the grammatical (7c). We assume that the unavailability of the tonic post-verbal pronouns is a consequence of the fact that the presence of *ne* in (6c) prevents the imperative from occupying the position it occupies in (6a/b). In summary, then, the imperatives in (6) are incompatible with *ne* and pre-verbal complement pronouns while the imperatives in (7) are compatible with both⁹.

These and similar data from other Romance languages have been considered by Zanuttini (1990; etc.) and Rivero (1994). Both authors exploit the distinction drawn by Joseph & Philippaki-Warbuton (1987) between what these authors term 'true' imperatives, e.g., (6), and 'surrogate' imperatives, e.g., (7). Informally speaking, true imperatives represent a distinct verbal paradigm while surrogate imperatives are verb forms taken from another morphological paradigm, e.g., the subjunctive or the infinitive, used with imperative force. True imperatives have distinctive structural properties; surrogate imperatives adopt the structural properties of the morphological paradigm whence they are borrowed. In the next two sections, we consider first Rivero's then Zanuttini's analyses of the distinction between true and surrogate imperatives.

2.2.1.2 Rivero

Rivero (1994) pursues an analysis of the distinction between true and surrogate imperatives in terms of verb position. (See also Rivero & Terzi (1995).) For Rivero, true imperatives occupy a higher position than surrogate imperatives. To be precise, while surrogate imperatives occupy whatever position one would expect their source forms to occupy, typically AgrS° in the case of surrogate imperatives borrowed from finite paradigms¹⁰,

⁹ We assume that the absence of pre-verbal *ne* in (7b) is due to optional '*ne*-drop', discussed in chapter 1, footnote 4. The acceptability of (7c) shows that *ne* is possible in such a structure. In (6b), in contrast, we assume that the absence of *ne* is the result of some deeper grammatical incompatibility, hence the ungrammaticality of (6c).

¹⁰ Where infinitives are used with imperative force, as in (i), we assume they share the syntax of infinitives used in other contexts. Note that *ne* is available and that *pas* is pre-verbal.

true imperatives occupy C° . Rivero suggests that raising into C° is triggered by the presence of some non-overt imperative operator base-generated within CP ¹¹. Rivero suggests that this explains the root nature of true imperatives and the fact that pronouns follow true imperatives. (See the discussion below.)

We would like to level two criticisms at Rivero's (1994) analysis. First, the model fails to account for the cross-linguistically significant fact that true imperatives typically witness impoverished morphological make-up, often no more than a verbal stem. If, as Rivero suggests, the extent of Verb Movement undergone by true imperatives is a superset of the Verb Movement undergone by, for example, finite verbs (and assuming that Verb Movement is driven by morphology – see chapter 1, section 1.2), why should true imperatives not witness at least comparable morphological complexity? If the morphological properties of true imperatives make any predictions about Verb Movement at all, then it would be that true imperatives move less far than finite forms. While, in French, it is true that there is no overt morphological difference between 'true' and 'surrogate' imperatives, there is clear cross-linguistic evidence to suggest that 'true' imperatives are morphologically impoverished forms, unlike 'surrogate' imperatives.

Second, Rivero's (1994) analysis fails to account for the fact that, in a large number of languages including the Romance languages she discusses explicitly, true imperatives are incompatible with pre-verbal negative markers and pre-verbal complement pronouns. The phenomenon is witnessed in French in (6c) above¹². Rivero does however address this issue. Assuming a CP - $NegP$ - IP - VP model of clause structure, Rivero accounts for the

-
- (i) Ne pas marcher sur la pelouse
 ne pas walk-INF on the lawn
 'Keep off the grass!'

¹¹ Rivero herself suggests that the operator is in C° itself. If we wanted to analyse operators as maximal projections, we could maybe assume that the operator itself is in $SpecCP$ and that verb raising to C° is to satisfy (a relevant version of) the AFFECT criterion.

¹² The incompatibility between the pre-verbal negative marker *ne* and true imperatives (but not between the post-verbal negative marker *pas* and true imperatives) is common among Romance languages. In Spanish and Italian, for example, pre-verbal *no/non* are incompatible with true imperatives. In Piedmontese and Milanese, in contrast, post-verbal *nen/ninga* are compatible with true imperatives. (See Zanuttini (1991; etc.) for discussion of negation in a number of Romance varieties. See also Parry (forthcoming) for discussion of sentential negation in the dialects of Italy.) Rivero (1994) points out, though, that while Zanuttini's generalisation holds also for Modern Greek, it does not appear to hold for Bulgarian, Slovak, Serbian/Croatian and Breton, in which true imperatives can be negated by a pre-verbal Neg° negative marker. It may well be desirable to deal with this contrast in terms of Ouhalla's (1990) *Neg Parameter*, i.e., his assumed parametric variation with respect to the position in clausal architecture of $NegP$.

cross-linguistic tendency by suggesting that a non-incorporating Neg° blocks movement of the imperative verb from I° to C°. The absence of true negative imperatives is thus reduced to the HMC (Travis (1984)), i.e., Relativized Minimality. This account is problematic for a number of reasons. First, contrast the Neg° negative markers in Spanish (explicitly mentioned by Rivero) and French. Rivero assumes that Spanish *no* does not incorporate and that this fact accounts for the absence of negative imperatives. Given the incompatibility of French *ne* with true imperatives, we would naturally want to assume that *ne* does not incorporate either. This seems however an unwelcome conclusion to have to draw given the discussion in chapter 1 and the grammaticality of (8), in which the verb and negative marker have inverted to C°¹³:

- (8) Qui n' avez-vous pas vu?
 Who *ne* have you *pas* seen
 'Who didn't you see?'

Second, consider again (8). Here, raising of verb+negative marker to C° is motivated by the *wh*-criterion, an instantiation of the AFFECT criterion, as discussed in chapter 1, section 1.4: the [+WH] verb raises to be in the required spec-head configuration with the [+WH] operator in SpecCP, in parallel to the way Rivero argues that true imperatives raise to C°. Why, then, can verb raising to C° in (8) take place with the negative marker while it cannot in the case of true imperatives? Rivero fails to explain this.

Given these considerations, we reject Rivero's (1994) analysis of the distinction between true and surrogate imperatives and turn, in the next section, to an alternative proposal from Zanuttini.

2.2.1.3 Zanuttini

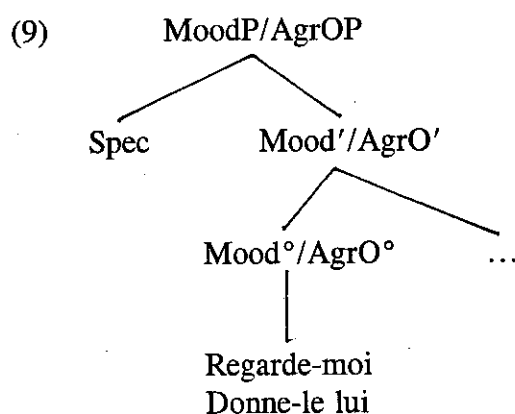
Zanuttini (1994a) agrees with Rivero (1994) inasmuch as she argues that true imperatives occupy a different position in clause structure from surrogate imperatives. In contrast to Rivero, though, it is the surrogate imperatives which are typically higher than the true imperatives in Zanuttini's model. Given the CP-AgrSP-NegP-TP-(MoodP-)VP ordering of functional projections assumed here¹⁴, Zanuttini's analysis can be deemed to share with Rivero's the assumption that the position occupied by the surrogate imperatives in (7) is

¹³ A possible solution to this problem with an analysis along the lines of the one proposed by Rivero might be envisaged by distinguishing between incorporation and cliticisation. We will not pursue this here.

¹⁴ This order is not the one assumed in the work by Zanuttini.

the position occupied by any finite verb, i.e., AgrS°. In French, given the verb's position in AgrS°, the pronouns are pre-verbal (as in finite clauses), and *ne* is available, as in (7c), but frequently omitted, as in (7b).

Turning now to the true imperatives in (6), Zanuttini assumes, *contra* Rivero, that the verb occupies a position *below* AgrS°. Within our terms, this position could be T° or some lower functional head above VP, perhaps Mood° (Pollock (1993)), encoding whatever feature(s) are associated with imperatives^{15,16}. The pre-verbal atonic pronouns cannot then be licensed, arguably, since a suitable head is not available for them to cliticise onto, e.g., AgrS° or an infinitival Mood°. The post-verbal tonic pronouns which are licensed are presumably enclitic on the imperative verb in Mood° or proclitic on some lower functional head, possibly AgrO°. Note that the true imperative and the post-verbal pronouns are inseparable.



Further, in imperative structures such as (9) (= (6a)), Zanuttini suggests that the functional category, our MoodP/AgrOP, headed by the imperative verb is in fact the highest functional category projected. Zanuttini is therefore claiming that, in this defective clause structure, CP, AgrSP, NegP and TP are not projected at all. Her model of clause structure can therefore be viewed in terms of strict selection: in our terms C° selects AgrSP, AgrS° selects NegP, and so on. Consequently, the absence of one functional category implies the absence of all dominating structure.

Zanuttini's analysis has certain explanatory potential:

¹⁵ Rottet (1992: 272, 275, 279) argues that the equivalent of true imperatives in the French-based and heavily decreolised Louisiana Creole raises to Mood° to be associated with an affixal mood morpheme by substitution.

¹⁶ If Zanuttini (1994a) and Kayne (1992) are right when they claim that TP and the functional structure above TP are not projected in the case of Italian true imperatives, then Mood° will be the highest functional head available to host the verb.

- (a) It might explain the root nature of true imperatives. Given that these verb forms do not project to CP and given that certain embedded contexts are characterised by their dependence on CP, the absence of embedded true imperatives can be attributed to the fact that CP is not projected.
- (b) It explains the morphological poverty of true imperatives cross-linguistically when contrasted with surrogate imperatives and other verbal paradigms more generally¹⁷. (See Rivero's analysis discussed in section 2.2.1.2.)
- (c) It explains why the complement pronouns in (6a) are post-verbal, i.e., tonic. Pre-verbal atonic pronouns are pro-clitic on some suitable inflectional head. Since inflectional categories above MoodP fail to project in positive imperatives, and assuming that an imperative Mood° is not a suitable host for clitics, there is no pre-verbal position for the pronouns to pro-cliticise onto, hence the ungrammaticality of (7a) and the obligatory post-verbal position of the complement pronouns with positive imperatives.
- (d) It explains why, in (7) the properties of the pronouns and *ne* correspond to their properties in finite clauses. In structural terms, at least, the strings in (7) are AgrSPs, just like finite clauses. Pronouns are therefore pre-verbal and *ne* is available, but not compulsory.
- (e) It explains why bipartite sentential negation using *ne...pas* cannot occur in (6c): since *ne* and, according to Pollock (1989), *pas* are generated as head and specifier in NegP respectively, and if we accept Zanuttini's

¹⁷ An admitted weakness of any analysis of the distinction between the French imperatives in (6) and those in (7) based on movement to AgrS° vs. no movement to AgrS° is the fact that the verb morphology is identical in both cases. This is all the more surprising since, in a number of the languages described by Zanuttini (1991), there are clear morphological differences between true and surrogate imperatives. The French imperatives in (6) and (7) are morphologically reduced, the verb arguably comprising nothing more than a stem. This fact could be taken to indicate the lack of movement to T° or AgrS°. This conclusion could be challenged by the second person *plural* imperatives in (i):

- (i) a. Regardez-moi pas/Donnez-le lui pas
- b. Me regardez pas/Le lui donnez pas
- (= (6b)/(7b) but second person *plural* rather than *singular*)

However, in the context of parallel number marking distinctions on Spanish imperatives, Zanuttini (1995a) suggests it is in fact debatable whether the plural marking should be considered an agreement morpheme. The distinction between the examples in (i) above and text examples (6b)/(7b) might not therefore imply movement to AgrS°.

suggestion that NegP is not projected in the context of true imperatives, the unavailability of bipartite negation in (6c) is predicted.

Despite the elegant way in which Zanuttini's analysis accounts for these features of the data in (6) and (7), there is a problem:

- (f) If Pollock's analysis of *ne* and *pas* as head and specifier of NegP underlyingly is adopted, Zanuttini's model fails to account for the grammaticality of the negated true imperative in (6b). We assume that (6b) is a true imperative on the basis of the position of the pronouns: they are post-verbal, as in (6a). (The unavailability of *ne* also suggests the verb forms in (6) are true imperatives.) Zanuttini's model therefore predicts that NegP is not projected in (6b). Nevertheless, the verb is negated with *pas*.

If *pas* is generated in SpecNegP, how can *pas* occur in (6b) where NegP is not projected? Do we reject Zanuttini's characterisation of the difference between true and surrogate imperatives? Or do we reconsider Pollock's analysis of *pas*? We would like to suggest that the latter option is better motivated given the otherwise attractive explanatory adequacy of Zanuttini's model and the other reasons we have for doubting Pollock's claim that *pas* is generated in SpecNegP. (See section 2.2.2 for example.)

In fact, the problem outlined in (f) above was recognised by Zanuttini (1991). To solve it, she suggests that post-verbal negative markers such as *pas* in French should be analysed as specifiers of a second NegP projection, NegP-2, which is distinct from NegP(-1) in that it is below TP (and, presumably, MoodP) and therefore insensitive to the presence or absence of TP. (In Zanuttini (1994b: 430), NegP-1 and NegP-2 are renamed PolP and NegP respectively.) In French, then, according to Zanuttini (1991), *ne* occupies Neg°-1 while *pas* occupies SpecNegP-2. In true (negative) imperatives, NegP-1 fails to be projected (due, according to Zanuttini (1991) and the conception of clausal hierarchy in terms of strict selection, to the absence of TP), hence the unavailability of *ne* in (6c). In contrast, NegP-2 can be projected in true imperatives (since it is independent of TP), hence the availability of *pas* in (6b). We would suggest that this proposal has at least two weaknesses.

First, the hypothesis that there are two NegP projections implies that overt negative markers occupying Neg°-2 and SpecNegP-1 should be attested, i.e., head negative markers located in the lower NegP and phrasal negative markers in the higher NegP, both in isolation and together. However, the predicted multiplicity of negative markers (and combinations of negative markers) seems not to be a characteristic of natural language.

In other words, we might expect to find post-verbal X^o negative markers together with pre-verbal XP negative markers under Zanuttini's model, yet we appear not to. This fact casts doubt on Zanuttini's suggestion that NegP-1 and NegP-2 can be projected.

Second, given that Zanuttini's model admits co-occurring NegP-1 and NegP-2, we might wonder what the respective contributions of each NegP projection is. If each were to contribute a negative feature independently, we would expect the two to cancel each other out. However, co-occurring *ne* and *pas* do not and never have resulted in logical double negation. Yet if the two NegPs do not each contribute a negative feature to the clause, it is difficult to see how we could motivate them both in the first place, at least in conceptual terms.

The alternative proposed here, namely that post-verbal negative markers are base-generated neither as the specifier of NegP-1 nor the specifier of NegP-2 (the very existence of which we reject anyway) but rather as adjoined adverbs, is better motivated in that it avoids both problems raised in the previous paragraphs. First, it explains why the full range of (four) overt negative markers are not attested cross-linguistically. Zanuttini's SpecNegP-2 is in fact analysed as an adverb in an adjoined position. The absence of Neg^o-2, which Zanuttini's model fails to predict, is a direct consequence of our proposal because NegP-2 is not posited. Second, the absence of logical double negation in varieties with bipartite negation (analysed by Zanuttini in terms of NegP-1 co-occurring with NegP-2) also follows from our model since bipartite negation is not accounted for in terms of two distinct NegP projections. In conclusion, then, if we assume that *pas* is generated as an adverb, we may be able to hang on to Zanuttini's analysis of the distinction between true and surrogate imperatives in Romance, including French, even though there are no morphological differences between the two sets of imperative. (See footnote 17.)

Note that this analysis also goes some way to explaining why the imperative in (10) is interpreted as being negative, even though it contains no overt negative marker. The imperative verb appears with a pre-verbal pronoun which, as discussed above, is incompatible with a positive imperative. The negative interpretation is therefore imposed on the utterance as a consequence of word order and the overt negative marker(s) (*ne*)..*pas* are redundant.

- (10) T' inquiète!
 You worry
 'Don't worry!'

To reiterate the conclusions of these sections, we have adopted a syntactic analysis

of true imperatives in which these verb forms occupy a functional head very low in clause structure. Crucially, true imperatives are characterised by a truncated tree structure: CP, AgrSP, NegP and TP fail to project. This analysis, while attractive for a number of reasons, is problematic when confronted with the assumption that *pas* is generated in SpecNegP since the failure of NegP to project should entail the incompatibility of true imperatives and *pas*, contrary to fact. We have interpreted this state of affairs as evidence to support our claim that *pas* is not in fact generated in SpecNegP and that, rather, this element is generated in an adjoined position reflecting its fundamental modifying function.

Before we end this section, a few comments are in order about the behaviour of *pas* in the true imperatives discussed above. Whereas we have previously assumed that *pas* raises into SpecNegP as a consequence of the Neg Criterion, the grammaticality of the true negative imperative in (6b), in which no NegP is generated, suggests clearly that *pas* does not itself need to appear in a spec-head configuration with *ne* (or its non-overt counterpart) to be licensed. This state of affairs goes some way to back up the suggestion made in the discussion in footnote 5 above. There, it was considered whether *pas*-raising to SpecNegP was in order to license *ne* or *pas*. It was suggested that such movement was more easily attributable to the licensing requirements of *ne*, discussed previously in chapter 1, section 1.3.5, than to those of *pas*. This conclusion is supported by the fact that, in the true negative imperatives discussed here, *pas* is licensed without the need to raise to SpecNegP.

In the next section, we move from negative imperatives in the modern language to negative infinitives in earlier stages in the development of French. Here, we find evidence that, even at S-structure, *pas* has not always been associated with SpecNegP. In our interpretation of the data, we suggest that *pas* has never been generated in SpecNegP, and that, in early varieties, *pas* did not have to raise to SpecNegP either. Raising to SpecNegP is then seen as an increasingly obligatory feature of the modern language in order for the Neg Criterion to be satisfied (more specifically, to license the increasingly weak *ne*).

2.2.2 Diachronic evidence: *pas*-placement relative to lexical infinitives

In this section, we argue that the analysis of the syntax of *pas* proposed in section 2.2 immediately lends itself to an account of the historical development of the distribution of *pas* with respect to lexical infinitival verbs¹⁸. The data in this section come largely from

¹⁸ During the periods in the history of French which are relevant to the discussion in this section, *pas* competed with *point* as an intensifier for negative *ne*. Consequently, the observations made here about word order apply to both *pas* and *point*, even where explicit reference is only made to *pas*. (See Price (1984: 252-257, chapter 19) for discussion of an

recent work by such authors as Paul Hirschbühler & Marie Labelle (henceforth, H&L) (1992a/b; 1993a/b/c), France Martineau (1990; 1994) and Elizabeth Pearce (1990; 1991; 1993), who have looked at the diachronic development of the syntax of *pas*, in particular its position with respect to infinitival, especially lexical, verbs.

From a diachronic perspective, there are two clear pieces of evidence which suggest that *pas* has not always occupied SpecNegP at S-structure (and which, therefore, cast some doubt on any claim that this element is base-generated in SpecNegP in the modern language). Rather, prior to its advent as main sentential negator: (a) the position of *pas* relative to infinitival verbs; and, (b) the fact that *pas* could be fronted for emphatic purposes; both suggest this element was best analysed in the same way as some other adverbs rather than an element uniquely associated with negation and (Spec)NegP. We would like to suggest that an analysis of the syntax of *pas* in terms of adjunction in the base followed (from about the seventeenth century onwards) by (increasingly compulsory) raising into SpecNegP as proposed in section 2.2, is well-placed to account not only for the synchronic facts but also the diachronic development.

The first piece of evidence concerns the relative order of *pas* and lexical infinitives. While in the modern language, *pas* obligatorily precedes a lexical infinitive (see chapter 1, section 1.2.7.3), this has not always been the case. Prior to the seventeenth century (when *ne* was capable of marking sentential negation on its own, i.e., when the appearance of *pas* in negative clauses was optional¹⁹), the two orderings illustrated in (11) below (H&L's (1993b: 1, (1))) were attested (Pearce (1993: 3-4)), although the *ne V pas* order illustrated in (11a) was more common than the *ne pas V* order illustrated in (11b) (H&L (1993b: 3)). During the seventeenth century, there was a clear shift from the *ne V pas* order (in (11a)) to the (modern) *ne pas V* order (in (11b)).

- (11) a. ..., c'est de **ne s'** **abandonner pas** au plaisir de les suivre
 it is of *ne* REFL abandon-INF *pas* to-the pleasure of them follow-INF
 '... is not giving in to the pleasure of following them.'
- b. ..., nous fûmes bien malheureux de **ne pas t'** **emmener** ...
 we were well unhappy of *ne pas* you take-INF
 '..., we were very unhappy not taking you (with us) ...'

H&L's (1993a: 9; 1993b: 4; 1993c: 8) statistical data suggest the modern construction,

initial difference between *pas* and *point*.)

¹⁹ See chapter 3, sections 3.2.1, 3.2.2 and 3.6.2 for discussion of the diachronic development of the system of sentential negation in French.

i.e., the *ne pas V* order in (11b), was used just 30-40% of the time at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but 80-90% of the time by the end of the seventeenth century²⁰. Under the assumption (on which see below) that Verb Movement patterns remained constant during this time, i.e., that lexical infinitives occupy a position below NegP throughout (as argued for the modern language in chapter 1, section 1.2.7.3), the earlier order clearly suggests that *pas* does not occupy SpecNegP in (11a). The shift from (11a) to (11b) can therefore be attributed to a progressive development whereby *pas* is increasingly obliged to raise to SpecNegP (at S-structure). Given that we might wish to motivate *pas*-raising to SpecNegP by the need to license the increasingly weaker *ne*, this conclusion is offered some support by the fact that *ne* lost the ability to function as the sole overt maker of sentential negation at the same time.

The second piece of evidence comes from a third possible – albeit marked – order alongside (11a/b), illustrated in (12) below ((12a) is cited in Martineau (1994: 59, (14)) and H&L (1993b: 15, (9a)); (12b) is cited in H&L (1993b: 16, (9c)), in which *pas/poin(c)t* precede the main negative marker *ne*²¹:

- (12) a. ...affin de [...], **pas ne travailler, point ne me soucier**
 in-order of *pas ne* work-INF, *point ne* me worry-INF
 ‘...so as to [...], not to work, not to worry’
- b. il nous faut [...] partir, et **point n’ attendre** ici nos ennemis
 it to-us is-necessary leave-INF and *point ne* wait-INF here our enemies
 ‘it is necessary for us [...] to leave, and not wait here for our enemies.’

Once again, assuming constant Verb Movement patterns and cliticisation of *ne* to AgrS°, these data suggest that *pas/poin(c)t* do not occupy SpecNegP in (12).

Recent accounts of these historical facts with a view to relating them to the situation

²⁰ Given that the data on which these statistics were based are literary in nature, they are unlikely to be an accurate reflection (in terms of absolute percentages) of actual usage. However, the clear shift in literary usage represented by these figures is likely to reflect a parallel shift – in relative terms – in vernacular usage. Given the general conservatism of written language, the chronology of these shifts in absolute terms will undoubtedly have been prior to the seventeenth century. See footnote 25.

²¹ Yvon (1948: 22) gives the following Old French examples:

- (i) Pas ne vus esmaiez (Vie de Saint Alexis, v 681)
 pas ne you dismay
 ‘Don’t fret!’
- (ii) Ço est Climborins qui pas ne fut produme (Chanson de Roland, v 1528)
 It is C. who *pas ne* was worthy
 ‘He is C. and he was not a man of worth.’

in the modern language by Martineau (1990), Pearce (1990; 1991) and H&L (1992a/b) have argued that the contrast between (11a) and (11b) could be attributed to differences in Verb Movement patterns. However, the fact that *pas* was the only negative adverb affected by the shift from (11a) to (11b) during the seventeenth century (H&L (1993b: 2fn3, 13)) suggests that Verb Movement is unlikely to have been responsible for the change. Note also that differing Verb Movement patterns alone are insufficient to account for the possibility of the examples in (12) and in footnote 21.

In contrast, we would like to suggest, following H&L (1993a/b/c)²² and Pearce (1993) that instead of being the result of differing Verb Movement patterns, the contrast is due, rather, to a change in the (surface) position of the negative *pas*. Nevertheless, we shall not adopt H&L's (1993a/b/c) analysis as it stands. They suggest that the base position of *pas* changes, i.e., that, instead of being generated in an adjoined position (in (11a)), *pas* is generated in SpecNegP (in (11b)), as in Pollock's (1989) analysis of Modern French. We would like to suggest that it is the *superficial* position rather than the *underlying* position of *pas* which changed in the shift from *ne V pas* to *ne pas V*, and that this change is best seen as a consequence of the decreasing specification of *ne* for the feature [+NEG]. (See footnote 5 and the discussion at the end of the previous section.) To be precise, it will be argued that *pas* has always been (and still is) base-generated in an adjoined position – the proposals in section 2.3 below notwithstanding – and that the change from (11a) to (11b) revolves around whether or not *pas* raises to SpecNegP to license *ne*. What distinguishes the modern language from earlier stages in its development, i.e., what distinguishes (11a) from (11b), we would suggest, is the issue of whether the feature specification of *pas/ne* together with the Neg Criterion oblige *pas* to raise (over the infinitival verb) to SpecNegP. In earlier stages in the development of the language, i.e., while *ne* alone was sufficient to mark sentential negation, *pas* was not obliged to raise²³. Hence, raising either did not take place at all or was optional²⁴. In the modern language, in contrast, we assume raising is compulsory since *pas* is now clearly inherently negative while *ne* is not. Consequently, the orders illustrated in (11a)

²² As H&L (1993b: 5) put it: '[W]e now favor the idea that the change from *ne V pas* to *ne pas V* in the case of lexical verbs reflects a change in the position of the p-negative adverbs [i.e., *pas/point*] and not in the extent of Verb Movement.'

²³ Recall from chapter 1, sections 1.3.4 and 1.3.5 that, in the modern language, *pas*-raising to SpecNegP serves to license *ne* by DA which operates from specifier to head (but not *vice versa*).

²⁴ See the analysis of *plus, jamais, guère*, etc., proposed in chapter 4.

and (12) cease to be available.

In section 2.2 above, raising of *pas* into SpecNegP in the modern language was motivated by the Neg Criterion in (2): given that, in Modern French, *pas* is inherently negative, we assume it bears some abstract syntactico-semantic affective feature, i.e., [+NEG], and is generally obliged to appear in a spec-head configuration with an affective head in order to satisfy the Neg Criterion, itself a construction-specific version of the more general AFFECT criterion. The fact that this movement seems once to have been unavailable or optional, we would argue, can be explained if, as suggested by the interpretation of *pas* in earlier stages in the development of the language (cf. Price (1993)), *pas* is deemed not always to have been inherently negative. Within the terms of an analysis along these lines, obligatory raising of *pas* from its base position to SpecNegP and, hence, the shift from *ne V pas* to *ne pas V* in the context of lexical infinitives, is seen as a consequence of the 'negativisation' of *pas*, i.e., the process by which *pas* became an inherently negative element and, increasingly, took over the role of primary sentence negator from *ne*. This approach is supported by the following related facts (H&L (1993b: 15)): first, the loss of (11a) and (12) coincides with the loss of the ability of *ne* to mark negation on its own; second, the loss of (11a) and (12) coincides with the shift in the interpretation of *pas* from an emphatic/polarity item to a strictly negative element. According to H&L's (1993: 15) interpretation of the statistical data, the critical period is the beginning of the seventeenth century²⁵.

In summary, H&L's (1992a/b) idea that the change from *ne V pas* to *ne pas V* in the context of lexical infinitives is the consequence of a change in the *base* position of the negative requires assumptions in addition to those required by the analysis proposed here in which the change in relative position of the two items is seen as a consequence of increasingly obligatory raising to SpecNegP, i.e., a change in *surface* position only. H&L's analysis requires reanalysis of *pas/point* from an adverb to a SpecNegP-associated element. In addition, given that the shift from (11a) to (11b) is progressive, i.e., given that two orders exist simultaneously for a certain time, H&L's analysis assumes a period of dual classification. In contrast, our proposed analysis assumes nothing more than the increasing 'negativisation' of *pas* (and *point*) and 'denegativisation' of *ne*. H&Z's (1991)

²⁵ Posner (1985: 184) agrees that the changes coincide, but suggests a critical period two centuries earlier:

- (i) [T]he obligatory intercalation of the "forclusif" between the auxiliary or modal and the non-finite lexical verb dates from the late fourteenth century: before then its position was freer and it had emphatic import.

See footnote 20.

Neg Criterion and/or Checking Theory does the rest for us in that it obliges XPs bearing affective features such as [+NEG] to appear in a specific configuration with a head of a certain kind. Movement to SpecNegP (and the shift from (11a) to (11b)) then fall out directly. The period during which *pas/point* appeared to have a dual classification can then be viewed as an ambivalence between the status of a fully negative item and an NPI (H&L (1993b: 17), Price (1993)), rather than ambivalence with respect to the position in which the element is generated. We therefore conclude that an analysis of the diachronic developments discussed in this section are best analysed in terms of increasingly compulsory *pas*-raising to SpecNegP and that, as claimed in section 2.2, *pas* is still generated in an adjoined adverbial position.

In the next section, we consider an exception to the syntactic analysis of *pas* proposed and supported so far. Where the clause (negated by *pas*) contains a transitive verb which governs an indefinite direct object, it will be argued that, exceptionally, *pas* is not generated in an adjoined position. Rather, in this context, *pas* functions as what Adrian Battye has termed a 'nominal quantifier', the characteristics of which are outlined below.

2.3 Configuration 2: *pas* and indefinite direct objects

2.3.1 Preliminaries: partitive and pseudo-partitive direct objects

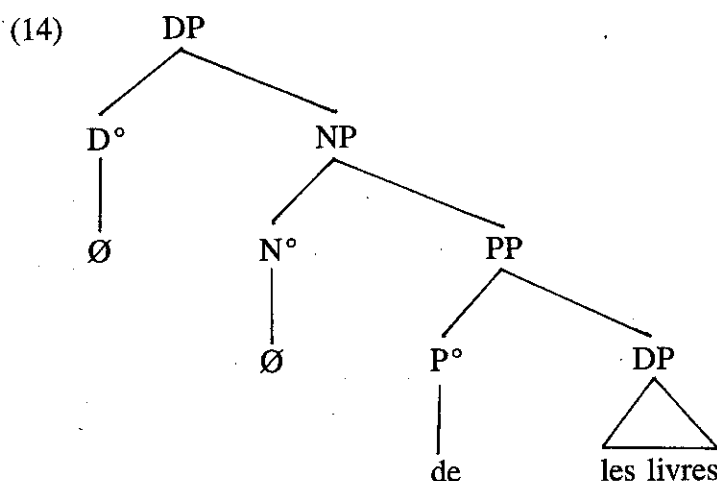
Before proposing an analysis of *pas* where it co-occurs with indefinite direct objects, a few preliminary comments need to be made with respect to the structures which indefinite direct objects can have. This is the purpose of the present section. Indefinite nominal expressions can take on one of three forms: they either contain a singular indefinite article, or exhibit a partitive or pseudo-partitive structure²⁶, as illustrated in (13a-c) respectively:

- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| (13) a. Marie achète un livre | (single indefinite) |
| M. buys a book | |
| 'M. is buying a book.' | |
| b. Marie achète des livres | (partitive) |
| M. buys of-the books | |
| 'M. is buying (some) books.' | |
| c. Marie a beaucoup acheté de livres | (pseudo-partitive) |
| M. has lots bought of books | |
| 'M. has bought lots of books.' | |

²⁶ The terms partitive and pseudo-partitive are due to Selkirk (1977: 302ff).

Ignoring the example in (13a) since it is irrelevant for our purposes here, we shall concentrate, rather, on the contrast between the partitive in (13b) and the pseudo-partitive in (13c). The partitive structure in (13b) is fairly unanimously analysed as being (at least) the syntactic combination of the preposition *de* 'of' and a nominal expression introduced by the definite article. In contrast, the pseudo-partitive structure illustrated in (13c) has generated considerable debate within the literature²⁷.

Battye (1991: 38) assumes that partitives have the following structure:



These indefinites are introduced by a non-overt D° and N° ²⁸; the complement of the latter is a PP headed by *de* 'of' which, in turn, selects a definite DP. We assume that a partitive structure does not have particular licensing conditions since its distribution is generally unrestricted. A partitive structure can appear in subject position ((15a)), direct and indirect object positions ((13b) above and (15b)) and as the complement of a preposition ((15c)):

- (15) a. **Des étudiants** viennent souvent me voir
 of-the students come often me see-INF
 'Students often come to see me.'
- b. Cette voiture, je l' ai donnée à **des amis**
 this car I it have given to of-the friends
 'I gave this car to friends.'

²⁷ See Englebert (1993) for review and discussion.

²⁸ Below, in section 2.3.3 and footnote 35, we consider the possibility, following Lyons (1994a), that, as indefinites, partitives lack a DP shell altogether. The exact nature of the non-overt N° is not relevant for our purposes, but see Battye (1991) for a proposal and Rowlett (1993a) for discussion.

- c. Le pain se mange avec **du** fromage
 the bread REFL eats with of-the cheese
 'Bread is eaten with cheese.'

In contrast, pseudo-partitive structures have a restricted distribution. They can only appear when licensed by another element. In (13c) above, for example, the pseudo-partitive structure is licensed by *beaucoup* 'lots'. Witness the ungrammaticality of (16) below, which is identical to (13c) modulo *beaucoup*.

- (16) ★Marie a acheté **de** livres
 M. has bought of books

We leave discussion of the internal structure of pseudo-partitives until section 2.3.3. In the next section, we consider in some detail their licensing conditions and relevance to negation.

2.3.2 Obenauer's quantification at a distance and Battye's nominal quantification

Work by Obenauer (1983; 1984) and Battye (1987; 1989a/b; 1990; 1991) suggests that *pas* and a number of other quantificational items, e.g., *peu* 'a little', *trop* 'too much', *beaucoup* 'lots' and *assez* 'enough', have a dual function in Modern French. In addition to being adverbs, as in (17), these items can appear as quantifiers within indefinite nominal expressions, as in (18).

- (17) J'aime $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{beaucoup} \\ \text{trop} \\ \text{peu} \\ \text{assez} \end{array} \right\}$ les films d'horreur
 'I like horror films a lot/too much/not much/enough.'

- (18) Le bouquiniste a vendu $\left[\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{beaucoup} \\ \text{trop} \\ \text{peu} \\ \text{assez} \end{array} \right\} \text{ de romans} \right]$
 'The secondhand-bookseller has sold lots of/too many/few/enough novels.'

Along with the word order in (18), these items can (generally speaking – see the restrictions below) also be used with an alternative word order, as in (19), in which the quantifier is separated from the rest of the indefinite nominal, leaving a pseudo-partitive structure behind:

- (19) Le bouquiniste a $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{beaucoup} \\ \text{trop} \\ \text{peu} \\ \text{assez} \end{array} \right\}$ vendu [de romans]

The secondhand-bookseller has *beaucoup/trop/peu/assez* sold of novels
(= (18) – see the paragraph below)

In (18) and (19), which are due to Obenauer, *beaucoup*, etc., can be said, intuitively, to quantify the noun *romans* ‘novels’, irrespective of the fact that the scope of the quantification might be thought to differ between (18) and (19). In (18), the scope of the quantifier is restricted to the direct object of which it forms a part ([*beaucoup* [de romans]]); while in (19), labelled ‘quantification at a distance’ (henceforth, QàD) by Obenauer (1984), where the quantifier appears in some left-VP-peripheral position, the scope of the quantifier extends to the entire predicate. The position of the quantifier reflects the semantic contrast²⁹.

The structure for (19) assumed by Battye, partially following Obenauer, is in (19’):

- (19’) Le bouquiniste a beaucoup vendu [*t* de romans]
etc.
(= (19))

As Battye (1991: 23) puts it, ‘the position marked *t* is that with which the quantifier ... *beaucoup* ... [is] associated’. Essentially, both Obenauer (working within an earlier model of generative grammar) and Battye posit that, in (19), i.e., where *beaucoup*, etc., do not appear within the direct object, the position which these quantifiers would otherwise occupy within the direct object is filled by some null element. Thus, both researchers suggest that the direct object in (19) has the structure in (20) where *ec* represents an empty category of some kind.

- (20) [*ec* [de romans]]

Further, both Battye and Obenauer assume that, in QàD structures such as (19), *beaucoup*, etc., and the empty category, *ec*, are ‘linked’ within the terms of Binding Theory, i.e., that the empty category is (A’-)-bound by *beaucoup*, etc. In Obenauer’s (1983: 68-9) terms, the empty position is ‘localement lié par le quantifieur lexical qui ... se trouve en position A’ (‘locally bound by the lexical quantifier in A’-position’).

²⁹ Obenauer (1983: 68; 1984: 156) suggests that QàD structures are regarded as somewhat *relâché* ‘loose’ by purists.

With respect to the question of whether the binding relationship between the quantifier and the empty category is the result of movement or not, Obenauer does not commit himself one way or the other, neither does he express any interest in the issue. Kayne (1975: 29ff) and Battye (1991: 23ff), in contrast, are bolder on this issue. In the case of the former, no movement is invoked in the relationship between *beaucoup* and the empty category (but see Milner (1978: 690-2) for a critique of Kayne (1975: 29ff)). In the case of the latter, the association between *beaucoup* and the empty category in these constructions is the relationship between an antecedent and its trace t^{30} . For our part, we would like to endorse the movement approach. A detailed discussion of how QàD can be derived from nominal quantification appears in section 2.3.3. In section 2.3.4, we suggest *pas* should be included in the list of nominal quantifiers.

A necessary corollary of Battye's (movement) analysis (according to Battye (1989b: 7)) is that the quantifier which appears, on the surface, either attached to or detached from the nominal it intuitively quantifies over must also be able to function independently as an adverbial. Informally speaking, nominal quantification and QàD are parasitic on VP-adjunction: an element cannot function as a nominal quantifier unless it can also function as a VP-adverb. The possibility of (17) is a necessary (although not sufficient) prerequisite for the possibility of (18) and (19). This is not to say that the implicature/corollary is bidirectional. As Milner (1978: 690-2) illustrates, it is not the case that all adverbial elements which can function as in (17) can also function in association with the indefinite direct object of a transitive verb as in (18) and (19). Indeed, in earlier stages of the development of French, while *pas* could, from relatively early on, function as a generalised negative adverb, its association with indefinite direct objects was a later development³¹. In the modern language, although both *énormément* and *abondamment* 'a lot' can appear as VP-adverbs, as in (21), the former can appear in association with an indefinite direct object (both QàD and non-QàD), as in (22), while the latter cannot, as in (23), (taken from Milner (1978: 691, (53))):

³⁰ What Battye (1991: 23) actually says with respect to QàD structures is that the quantifiers 'seemingly "float" backwards off the noun phrase in direct object position'. We have interpreted this as a movement approach to QàD, although Battye himself does not propose any structural analysis of the mechanics involved.

³¹ Rickard (1989: 75) claims that *pas* could not be used in pseudo-partitive structures until the sixteenth century, and then only rarely. In similar vein, Price (1986: 574-5) points out that, while pseudo-partitive structures involving the negative marker *point* are found in the earliest texts, similar constructions using *pas* are not found until much later. In contrast, even in early texts, *pas* could function as an adverbial negator.

- (21) a. J'ai énormément lu
 b. J'ai abondamment lu
 I have a-lot read
 'I have read a lot.'
- (22) a. J'ai lu énormément de livres (non-QàD)
 b. J'ai énormément lu de livres (QàD)
 I have (a-lot) read (a-lot) of books
 'I have read lots of books.'
- (23) a. ★J'ai lu abondamment de livres (non-QàD)
 b. ★J'ai abondamment lu de livres (QàD)
 (= (22))

Indeed, Milner uses these distributions to argue, *contra* Kayne (1975), that QàD structures are derived from non-QàD structures. His argument centres on the ungrammaticality of (23b) which contrasts with the acceptability of (21b). Kayne (1975) argues that elements like *énormément* and *abondamment* are base-generated in VP-initial position not only in (21) but also in (22b) and in (the ungrammatical) (23b). If this is indeed the case, we have no way of accounting for why (21a), (21b) and (22b) are grammatical while (23b) alone is not. If, alternatively, and as Milner proposes, the QàD strings in (22b) and (23b) are derived from the non-QàD strings in (22a) and (23a), then the unacceptability of the QàD example in (23b) containing *abondamment* can be accounted for in straightforward fashion. This particular element cannot appear in (derived) QàD structure for the simple reason that it cannot appear in the (almost) equivalent (base-generated) non-QàD structure. So, in Kayne's analysis, (23a) and (23b) have to be explained independently of one another; in an analysis in which (23b) is derived from (23a), only one explanation is required. We take this as strong evidence to suggest that QàD is a derived word order in French.

Having concluding that QàD is derived from non-QàD, we turn, in the next section, to an analysis of how it is exactly that such a derivation might proceed. In section 2.3.4, we suggest that *pas* can be assimilated to the class of nominal quantifiers.

2.3.3 Analysis

Let us turn now to a syntactic analysis of nominal quantification and QàD. First, we present an analysis of QàD (from Rowlett (1993a)) based on Battye's earlier (1991) work on nominal quantification, then we make a number of suggestions as to how this account can be improved and deal more elegantly with the data under review.

With respect to the syntactic category of quantifiers such as *beaucoup*, Battye (1991) claims that, unlike other quantifiers in French (whereby the term 'quantifier' represents

an intuitively functional rather than a strictly syntactic characterisation), *beaucoup*, etc., are neither adjectives (cf. *quelques* 'some') nor determiners (cf. *plusieurs* 'several'). Rather, Battye (1991) exploits Abney's (1987) DP hypothesis to argue that these elements are in fact nominals, generated as the head N° within an indefinite DP, i.e., as in (24) below:

(24) [_{DP} [_{D'} Ø [_{NP} [_{N'} [_N beaucoup] [(de) NP]]]]]

As nominals, *beaucoup*, etc., will absorb the Case assigned to the indefinite DP. Consequently, while *beaucoup*, etc., take an NP complement, the Case-marking preposition *de* 'of' must be inserted to avoid a Case filter violation. The structure in (24) seems not to pose any problems for the non-QàD configurations in (18). How, then, can the QàD configurations in (19) be derived from a structure such as (24)? While Battye assumes (or, rather, implies — see footnote 30 above) that examples such as those in (19) are derived from those in (18), he offers no concrete analysis of how the derivation might proceed. In Rowlett (1993a: 58-63), we address the issue, and we present the essential points of that analysis here.

There is a major difference between the underlying structure assumed by Battye, i.e., (24), and the one assumed by Obenauer. Obenauer assumes the structure in (25), where QP (Quantifier Phrase) represents *beaucoup*, etc:

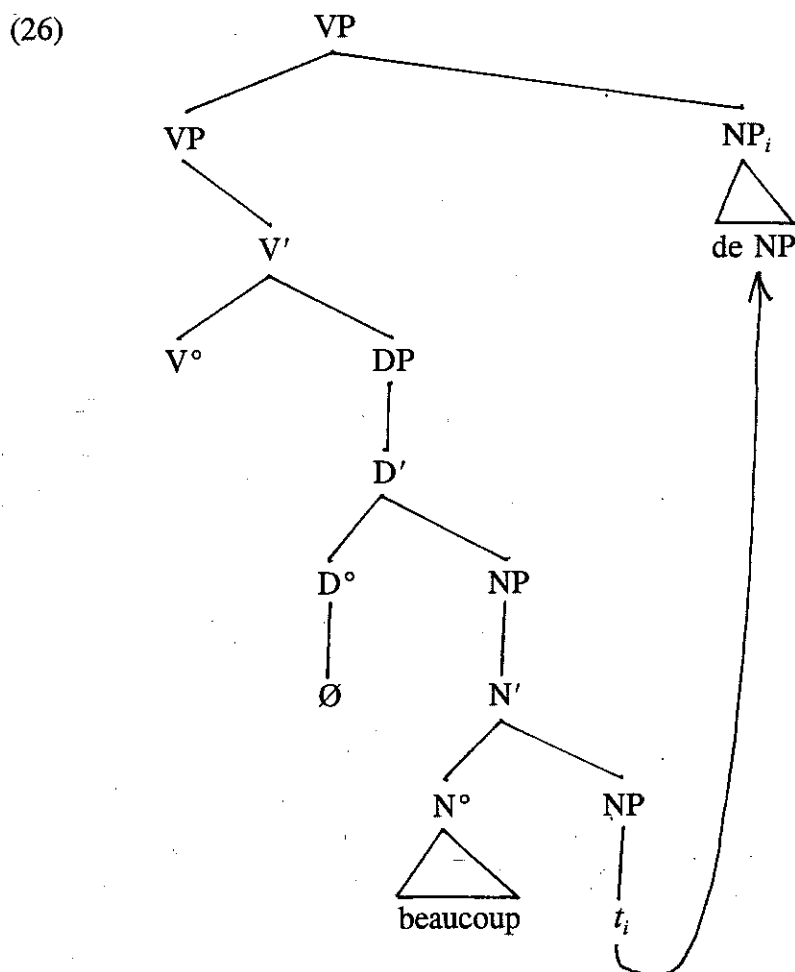
(25) [_{NP} [_{QP} beaucoup, etc.] [de N']]

The major difference concerns the status, in X'-theoretic terms, of the quantifier. In (24), it is a head; in (25), it is a maximal projection. The difference is significant if we are to pursue an analysis in which (19) is derived from (18), i.e., if QàD is to be derived from non-QàD in terms of Move- α , the versatility of which is determined in part by principles of X'-syntax: head movement is more restricted than XP movement. Crucially, head movement is subject to the HMC (Travis (1984)) while XP movement is not³².

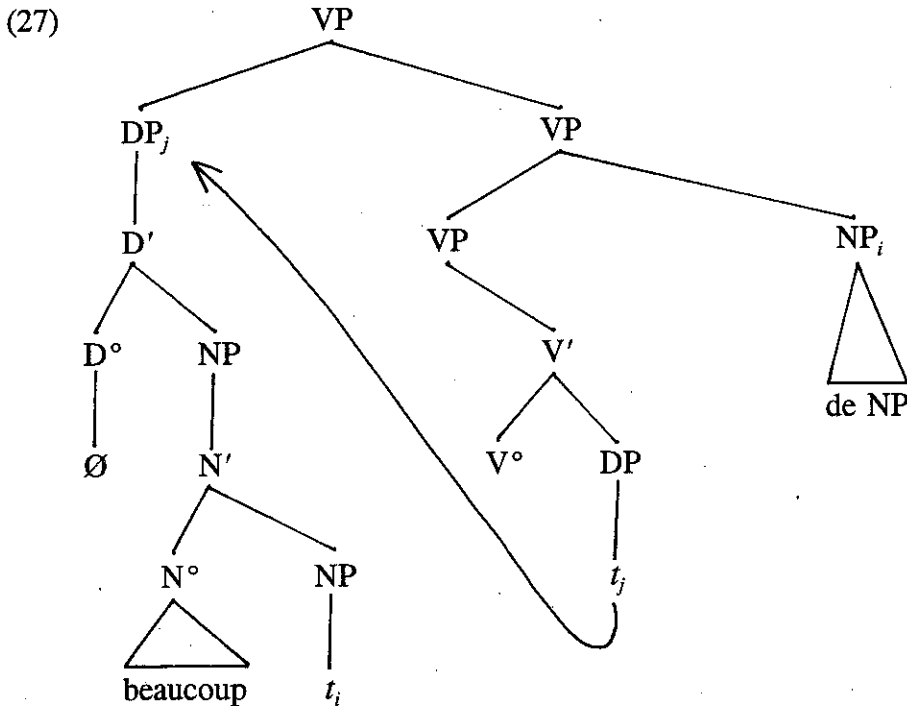
In Rowlett (1993a), we followed Battye in assuming an underlying structure such as (24) in which the quantifier is the head of the construction. This left us with the problem of deriving QàD from non-QàD. In concrete terms, the quantifier, under N°, cannot be extracted directly from its containing maximal projection to its final left-VP-peripheral

³² A second significant difference between (24) and (25) concerns the nature of the lexical head of the nominal construction. In (24), it is the quantifier; in (25), it is the quantified noun.

position. To solve this problem, we suggested that the complement of the nominal quantifier, i.e., the adnominal NP preceded by *de* 'of', should first be extraposed, i.e., right-adjoined to VP, as in (26) (after Rowlett (1993a: 60, (31))):



Once the adnominal NP has been extraposed, we suggested that the indefinite DP containing the quantifier itself is free to move independently. We assumed that the DP moves to the left-VP-peripheral A'-scope position, as in (27), (after Rowlett (1993a: 61, (32))):

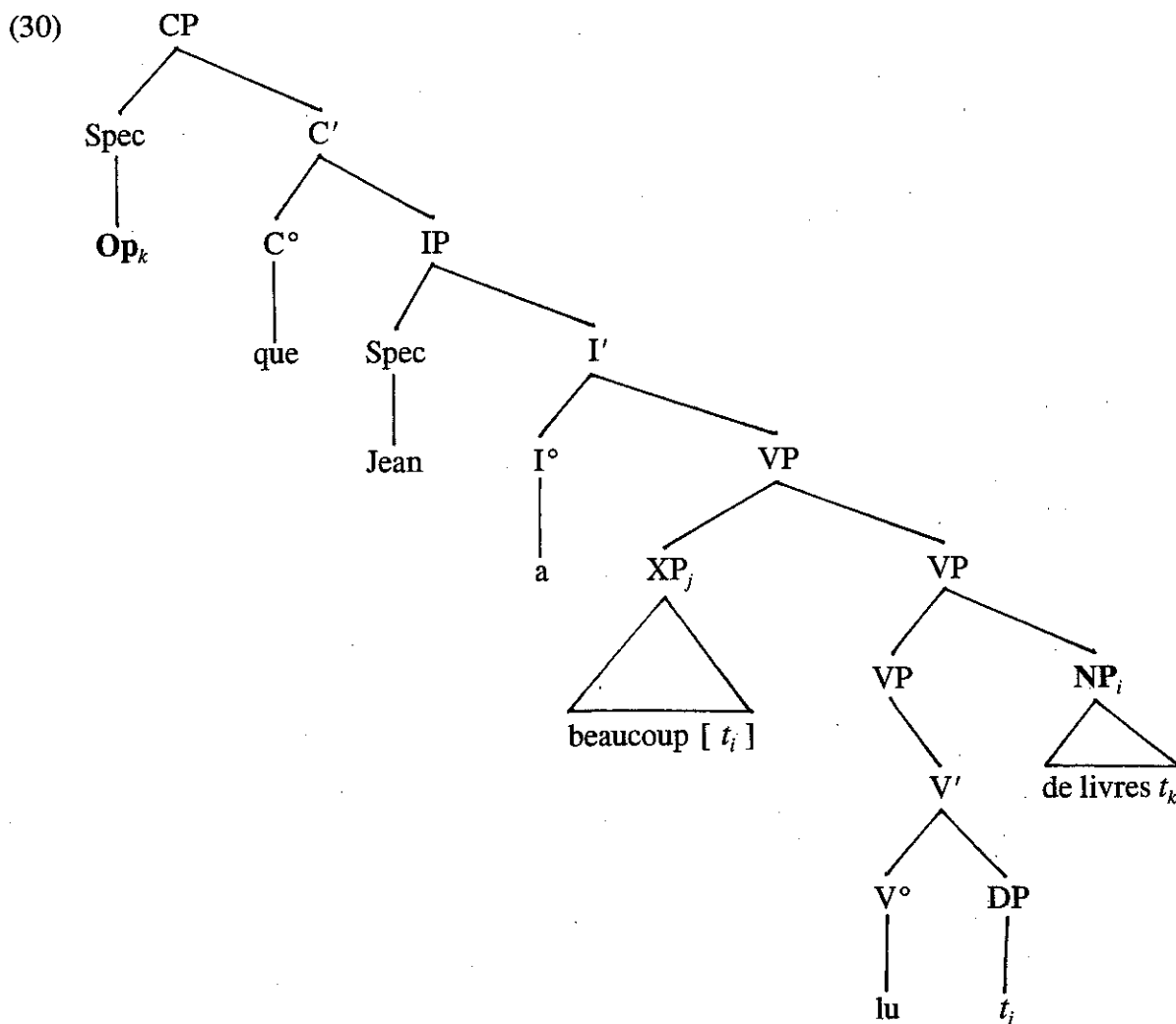


We further assumed that the extraposed NP (NP_i) can properly bind its trace (t_i) by reconstruction of DP_j .

The obvious weakness in the above structural analysis is the (rather inelegant) need to extrapose the NP complement of *beaucoup* prior to raising the nominal quantifier itself. In addition to its lack of elegance, though, it could be argued that the proposed analysis makes an incorrect prediction. To be precise, one might expect the extraposed constituent, i.e., NP_i in (26) and (27), to be an island for extraction. Yet this is not the case, as witnessed by the grammaticality of the QàD example in (28), derived from (29), in which the highlighted topic has been extracted from what, in the above analysis, would be an extraposed constituent, i.e., the highlighted NP_i , as illustrated in the simplified structure in (30):

- (28) C'est de Zola **Op** que Jean a beaucoup lu de livres
 It is of Z. that J. have lots read of books
 'Z.'s the one J. has read lots of books by.'

- (29) ...Jean a beaucoup lu de livres **Op**



Hence, there are good reasons to doubt the validity of the above analysis of QàD.

As an alternative to the underlying structure assumed by Battye, we might maintain Obenauer's assumption that the nominal quantifier is a full XP constituent, even where it quantifies over an indefinite direct object, i.e., even in (18)³³. To capture this, we could assume that – rather than being generated as the head N in an indefinite DP – *beaucoup*, etc., are generated in a specifier position within the indefinite nominal³⁴.

³³ I am grateful to David Adger for discussing these issues with me.

³⁴ This analysis is, in fact, more in line with Battye's original (1987; 1989b) work on nominal quantification. Working prior to the widespread acceptance of Abney's DP hypothesis, Battye suggests nominal quantifiers appear in SpecNP. It was only later that he modified his analysis by placing these elements in N°. Given the profusion of functional projections currently being proposed in the literature and not just in the context of clauses; it may well be the case that nominal quantifiers occupy an extended specifier position of NP (in the sense of Grimshaw (1993)) rather than SpecNP itself. An immediately obvious candidate would be the specifier of a number phrase: SpecNumP. With nominal quantifiers such as *beaucoup* in SpecNumP, the obligatory indefinite nature of such nominal expressions might be attributed to the spec-head relationship between the quantifier and the non-overt

The Case-theoretic features of pseudo-partitives, i.e., the obligatory insertion of the prepositional Case-marker *de* 'of' before the adnominal NP could receive an almost identical explanation as in the previous analysis. With *beaucoup*, etc., in specifier position (such as SpecNumP) absorbing the Case assigned by the transitive verb under government³⁵, *de* 'of' is still required to see that the (otherwise Case-less) adnominal NP does not violate the Case filter.

The attraction of such an analysis in which the nominal quantifier is an XP in SpecNumP is that initial extraposition of the adnominal NP is not required to allow extraction of the nominal quantifier from within the direct object to the left-VP-peripheral A'-scope position. Instead, extraction can proceed as in (31):

head Num°. The reader is referred to Lyons (1994a). SpecDP would not be a possible position for these nominal quantifiers in a model such as the one proposed by Lyons since he assumes that DP is not projected in indefinite nominal expressions.

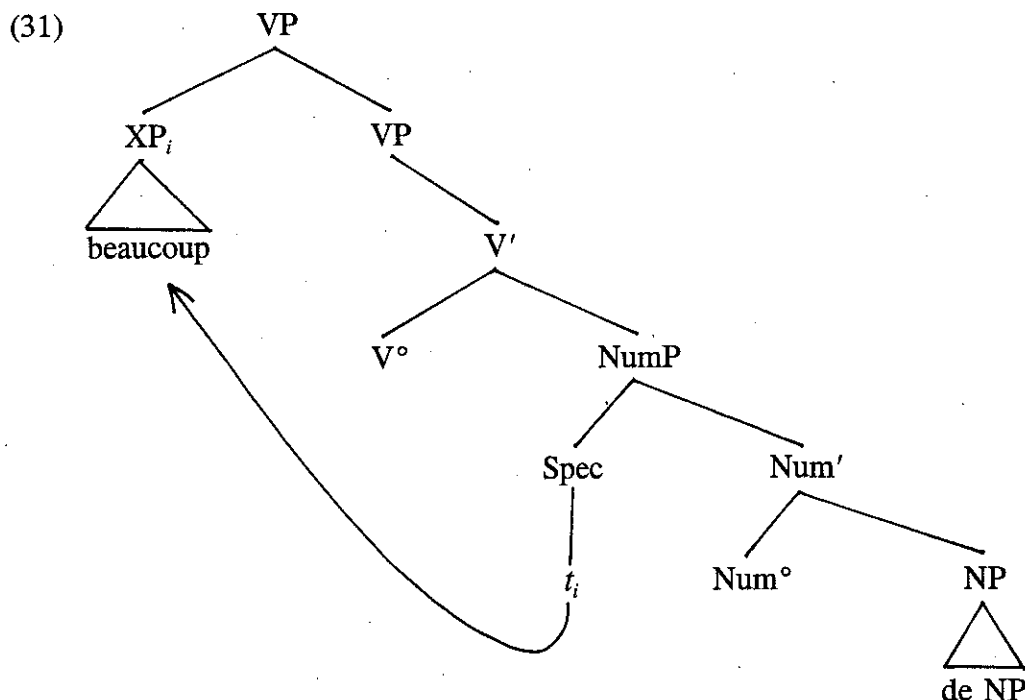
³⁵ It is interesting to compare this proposal with Exceptional Case Marking (ECM), illustrated in (i):

(i) The villagers believed John to be a liar

Examples of ECM such as (i) are commonly assumed to have a number of properties. The complement of the ECM verb, i.e., *believe*, is non-finite; the subject of the embedded clause, i.e., *John*, is (consequently) not assigned nominative Case by the embedded AgrS°. Rather, it is assigned accusative Case by the ECM verb under government. Government is deemed to be possible because, first, CP is not assumed to be projected by the embedded non-finite clause and, second, the embedded AgrSP fails to count as a barrier against outside government due to the defective status of (non-finite) AgrS°.

Compare this with the proposed analysis of nominal quantification. The nominal quantifier to be Case-marked is in SpecNumP, yet Case-marked by an external governor. This could be argued to be possible given, first, that DP is not assumed to be projected by the indefinite nominal expression and, second, that NumP fails to count as a barrier given the defective status of the indefinite NumP.

This proposal is supported by work by Lyons (1994a) who suggests that indefinites are characterised by their failure to project to the DP level. Further, the parallel between (non-)finiteness/nominative Case assignment and (in-)definiteness/genitive Case assignment is attested in English nominals. In English, only definite D° can assign genitive Case to its 'subject', arguably in the same way that only finite AgrS° can assign nominative Case to its 'subject'. Pushed to its logical conclusion, we would also have to conclude that, like nominative Case, genitive Case is structural rather than inherent.



The analysis of *beaucoup*, etc., as a syntactic specifier rather than a head has the added advantage of tying its syntax to its semantics. Semantically, *beaucoup*, etc., fulfil a specific *function* with respect to the indefinite direct object: specifier positions are typically occupied by constituents which fulfil a certain function with respect to the relevant maximal projection. By associating these nominal quantifiers with SpecNumP, semantics and syntax meet. Further evidence suggesting nominal quantifiers are maximal projections like specifiers rather than heads comes from the fact that they can be modified, as in (32) which is crucially not synonymous with (33). In (32), the intensifier *bien* modifies *beaucoup*; in (33), it modifies the entire predicate.

(32) Jean a acheté [bien beaucoup] de livres
 J. has bought well *beaucoup* of books
 'J. bought a hell of a lot of books.'

(33) Jean a bien acheté beaucoup de livres
 J. has well bought *beaucoup* of books
 'J. has indeed bought lots of books.'

Concluding, then, we adopt this second analysis of nominal quantifiers. We shall assume that, in the nominal structure:

- (a) nominal quantifiers bear the categorial features of nouns, i.e., [-V, +N];
- (b) they bear the functional syntactico-semantic feature [+QUANTIFICATION];

- (c) they appear as the syntactic specifier of Num° (DP is not projected);
- (d) they are compatible with QàD; and,
- (e) they can function, independently of an indefinite nominal, as left-VP-peripheral adverbs.

With these conclusions in mind, we argue, in the next section, that *pas* should be considered a member of the class of nominal quantifier.

2.3.4 *Pas* as a nominal quantifier

In this section, we argue – following Battye (1989: 29fn11) himself³⁶ – that *pas* belongs to Battye's class of nominal quantifier along with *beaucoup*, etc., and that, consequently, the syntax of *pas* should be modeled on the analysis proposed in the previous section³⁷. In other words, we argue that, where *pas* negates a clause containing a transitive verb and a pseudo-partitive direct object, the sequence [*pas de N*] is generated as a constituent in direct object position in the base. In this, we follow something of the intuition expressed in Yvon (1948: 19) on the basis of the literary example in (34):

³⁶ Obenauer (1983; 1984) also ascribes *pas* to the same category as *beaucoup*, etc., but was writing prior to Battye's proposals. Obenauer (1984: 155) suggests all these elements are adverbs, but does not concern himself with a detailed analysis. In a somewhat similar vein, Battye (1989) includes *pas* in his inventory of nominal quantifiers in a footnote, but goes no further.

³⁷ Note the following comment by Schwegler (1988: 26) which supports Battye's analysis of *pas* as a noun:

- (i) Over the history of Romance, and ... that of several other well-documented language families, the rise of new negation strategies has often involved the development of a *nominal* element that eventually evolves into the primary exponent of negation by way of semantic 'bleaching' and a category shift from noun to adverb (or sentence qualifier). (Schwegler's italics)

What Battye suggests, and what we agree with, is that *pas* retains its nominal properties, even in the modern language.

Winters (1987), within a cognitive account of the development of negation in French, suggests that the pseudo-partitive structures, e.g., [*Ø de N*], discussed in section 2.3.3, and licensed by negative markers such as *pas* (and the older *point* and *goutte*) are themselves indication that the negative markers were (and continue to be) nouns. As Winters points out (1987: 36), noun-noun expressions have, from the earliest evidence to the present day, been constructed with *de* 'of'.

- (34) Quoiqu' ils eussent
However they have-IMP:SUBJ

une liberté plus absolue et plus dangereuse (que Paul et Virginie),
a freedom more absolute and more dangerous than P. and V.

point de famille,
point of family

point de mères vigilantes et tendres pour les former à la vertu,
point of mothers vigilant and tender for them train-INF to the virtue

point de serviteur dévoué pour les chercher le soir et les ramener
point of servant devoted for them fetch-INF the evening and them return-INF

au bercail,
to-the cradle

pas même un chien pour les avertir du danger,
pas even a dog for them avert-INF of-the danger

ils ne firent aucun genre de chute.
they *ne* made no kind of fall

'Although they had a more absolute and dangerous freedom (than P. and V.), no family, no vigilant and tender mothers to guide them toward virtue, no devoted servants to collect them every evening and return them to the cradle, not even a dog to ward them from danger, they came to no harm.'

According to Yvon, for the average speaker of the modern language:

- (35) '*point* et *pas*, indépendamment de *ne* expriment l'exclusion, l'absence, le manque : *point de famille*, *point de mères*... est synonyme de *manque total de famille*, *de mères*...'

(independently of *ne*, *point* and *pas* express exclusion, absence, lack: *point de famille*, *point de mères*... is synonymous with *manque total de famille*, *de mères*...)

In other words, as Yvon (1948: 21) puts it:

- (36) '[I]l ne serait pas déraisonnable de considérer comme complément d'objet les groupes *point de famille*, etc., dans lesquels *point* ayant valeur de nom aurait pour complément *famille*, etc., et se rattacherait moins étroitement au verbe.'

(It would not be unreasonable to treat the phrases *point de famille*, etc., as the objects, whereby the nominal *point* would take *famille*, etc., as its complement and would be less intimately associated with the verb.)

While we have decided to reject an analysis whereby the negative markers are analysed as the lexical head of the construction, we shall conclude that the negative markers, e.g., *pas* are generated within the nominal expression (NumP) in direct object position. First, we note the syntactic similarities between *pas* and the other nominal quantifiers (section

2.3.4.1); then we see that extraction facts suggest a derivational account of *pas* (section 2.3.4.2).

2.3.4.1 Evidence: *pas* behaves like *beaucoup*, etc.

First, like *beaucoup*, etc., and as predicted by Battye (1989b: 7) and as discussed in section 2.3.2 above, *pas* can be used, not only in association with indefinite direct objects, but also independently, as an adverb, in clauses which do not contain indefinite direct objects. As the data in (37) and (38) show, *pas* not only fills the same slot, in linear terms, at least, as *beaucoup*; it also fulfils the same adverbial function.

- (37) a. Pierrette voyage en France
 b. Pierrette voyage beaucoup en France
 c. Pierrette (ne) voyage pas en France
 P. (ne) travels Ø/lots/*pas* in France
 'P. travels/travels a lot/doesn't travel in France.'
- (38) a. Pierrette a voyagé en France
 b. Pierrette a beaucoup voyagé en France
 c. Pierrette (n') a pas voyagé en France
 P. (ne) has Ø/lots/*pas* travelled in France
 'P. has travelled/has travelled a lot/hasn't travelled in France.'

Second, in the same way that the distribution of *beaucoup*, etc., in QàD structures is restricted, so the distribution of *pas* seems to be subject to a similar restriction. To be precise, among the class of transitive verbs in French, Obenauer distinguishes between those which are compatible with QàD and those which are not. The first group is illustrated in (39) below (Obenauer's (1983: 68, (6))), the second in (40) (Obenauer's (1983: 70, (12))):

- (39) a. Antoine a trop lu de romans policiers
 A. has too-much read of novels detective
 '≈ A. has done too much detective novel reading.'
- b. Max a (très) peu composé de sonates
 M. has (very) little composed of sonatas
 '≈ M. has done (very) little sonata composing.'
- (40) a. ★Le critique a peu apprécié de films
 the critic has little appreciated of films
- b. ★Son regard a beaucoup impressionné de minettes
 his look has lots impressed of young-girls
- c. ★La réorganisation a beaucoup accéléré de procédures
 the reorganisation has lots speeded-up of procedures

- d. ★La nouvelle a beaucoup inquiété d' experts
the news has lots worried of experts
- e. ★Une fois installé loin de la ville, il a beaucoup regretté d' amis
one time settled far from the town, he has lots missed of friends

Note that the unacceptability of the strings in (40) is not of the same nature as the unacceptability of (23) above. In (23), the problem is the quantifier, which is incompatible with both QàD and non-QàD. In (40), the problem is the fact that the verbs are incompatible with QàD. The non-QàD equivalents are perfectly fine, as in (41):

- (41) a. Le critique a apprécié peu de films
- b. Son regard a impressionné beaucoup de minettes
- c. La réorganisation a accéléré beaucoup de procédures
- d. La nouvelle a inquiété beaucoup d' experts
- e. Une fois installé loin de la ville, il a regretté beaucoup d' amis
- (= (40))

Obenauer accounts for the distinction between the transitive verbs in the examples in (39) and those in the strings in (40)/(41) above in terms of types of what he calls 'VP-quantification'. What Obenauer means by this is simply that, in QàD structures, i.e., where *beaucoup*, etc., are separated from the nominal they quantify over and appear in some left-VP-peripheral position, i.e., where *beaucoup*, etc., is extracted from SpecNumP in the direct object, as illustrated in (31), the quantification relationship is upheld by virtue of *beaucoup*, etc., quantifying *in a certain way* over the entire predicate and, hence, the direct object. The 'in a certain way' is important here because Obenauer uses this condition to explain the contrast between (39) and (40). Consider the two examples in (42) below.

- (42) a. Jean aimait beaucoup sa femme (intensity)
 J. loved lots his wife
 'J. used to love his wife a lot.'
- b. Jean faisait beaucoup l' amour à sa femme (frequency)
 J. made lots the love to his wife
 'J. used to make love to his wife often.'

In these two examples, the predicates are quantified by *beaucoup*. However, the nature of the quantification relationship is different in the two cases. In (42a), *beaucoup* indicates the intensity of the sentiment expressed by the predicate and is synonymous with *intensément*. In (42b), in contrast, *beaucoup* indicates the frequency of the activity expressed by the predicate and is synonymous with *souvent*. Importantly, the

interpretation of *beaucoup* is determined by the predicate. Obenauer observes that the (un)availability of QàD in (39) and (40) depends crucially on the reading of the quantifier. He goes on to suggest that this is a consequence of the underlying quantificational relationship with the direct object. The logic goes something like this: in order to maintain the quantificational force over the direct object in a QàD structure, the predicate must be quantified with a frequency reading since it is only by having multiple or frequent occurrences of the activity expressed by the predicate that it is possible to have multiple, i.e., quantified, occurrences of the direct object. The problem with the examples in (39), then, is that two incompatible requirements are placed on the moved quantifier. The predicate wants it to take an intensity reading while its binding relationship with its trace can only be maintained with a frequency reading.

Working on the assumption that the (underlying) quantification relationship with the direct object can only be maintained if, in the QàD structure, the quantifier is interpreted as a frequency rather than an intensity adverb, the ungrammaticality of the strings in (40) can be explained. The verbs in the strings in (40) are incompatible with QàD because the nominal quantifiers are interpreted as intensity adverbs rather than frequency adverbs, as in the grammatical strings in (43), in which all the definite objects are definite. Hence, in (40), the quantifier relationship with the direct object cannot be maintained.

- (43) a. Le critique a peu apprécié ce film
the critic has little appreciated this film
'The critic appreciated this film little.'
- b. Son regard a beaucoup impressionné cette minette
his look has lots impressed this young-girl
'His look impressed this young girl a lot.'
- c. La réorganisation a beaucoup accéléré cette procédure
the reorganisation has lots speeded-up this procedure
'The reorganisation speeded up this procedure immensely.'
- d. La nouvelle a beaucoup inquiété cet expert
the news has lots worried this expert
'The news worried this expert a lot.'
- e. Une fois installé loin de la ville, il a beaucoup regretté cet ami
one time settled far from the town, il has lots missed this friend
'Once settled far from town, he missed this friend a lot.'

What is important for our purposes is not the explanation for the contrast between (39) and (40) *per se* but the fact that, where the nominal quantifiers in (39) and (40) are replaced by *pas* similar effects are produced:

- (44) a. Antoine n' a pas lu de romans policiers
 A. *ne* has *pas* read of novels detective
 'A. hasn't read any detective novels.'
- b. Max n'a pas composé de sonates
 M. *ne* has *pas* composed of sonatas
 'M. hasn't written any sonatas.'
- (45) a. ??Le critique n' a pas apprécié de films
 the critic *ne* has *pas* appreciated of films
 'The critic didn't appreciate any films.'
- b. ??Son regard n' a pas impressionné de minettes
 his look *ne* has *pas* impressed of young-girls
 'His look didn't impress any young girls.'
- c. ★La réorganisation n' a pas accéléré de procédures
 the reorganisation *ne* has *pas* speeded-up of procedures
 'The reorganisation didn't speed up any procedures.'
- d. ★La nouvelle n' a pas inquiété d' experts
 the news *ne* has *pas* worried of experts
 'The news didn't worry any experts.'
- e. ★Une fois installé loin de la ville, il n' a pas regretté d' amis
 one time settled far from the town, he *ne* has *pas* missed of friends
 'One settled far from town, he didn't miss any friends.'

The native speakers we have consulted do not, in general, find the examples in (45) as unacceptable as the strings in (40), but rather as somewhat odd, especially examples (45c-e). One might reason that, although (the necessary) frequency adverbs are in theory incompatible with these verbs, where that frequency is reduced to zero, i.e., with negative *pas*, the incompatibility is not so marked³⁸. We accept that the fact that the strings in (45) are not considered totally unacceptable on a par with those in (40) is a potential problem for our analysis. Nevertheless, the contrast between (44) and (45) is significant in that it is parallel to the contrast between (39) and (40). We therefore conclude that *pas* belongs to the same class of quantifier as *beaucoup*, etc.

Finally in this section, we consider what Obenauer (1984) refers to as pseudo-opacity effects which, once again, suggest that *pas* should be treated on a par with Battye's other nominal quantifiers, such as *beaucoup*. Obenauer notes the impossibility of associating one quantifier with a pseudo-partitive direct object when another quantifier intervenes. Consider (46), in which *beaucoup* is interpreted as an intensity adverb (and therefore cannot be associated with the direct object by QàD):

³⁸ We have no explanation for why (45a/b) are judged more acceptable than (45c-e).

- (46) a. ★Combien a-t-il beaucoup aimé de films?
 how-many has-he lots liked of films

Rather, in (46a), it is *combien* which is associated with the direct object by QàD. We shall assume that the ungrammatical (46a) is derived from the grammatical (46b):

- (46) b. Il a beaucoup aimé combien de films?
 he has lots liked how-many of films
 ‘How many films did he like a lot?’

Given the acceptability of (46b), we would argue that the problem with (46a) cannot be semantic in nature and must therefore be syntactic. Given that (46a) is derived from (46b) and that, therefore, the structure of (46a) can be represented as in (46a’), we can appeal to Relativized Minimality to account for its ungrammaticality³⁹.

- (46) a’. ★Combien_i a-t-il beaucoup aimé [*t_i* de films] ?
 (= (46a))

In (46a’), *combien* has been extracted from the direct object; let us assume that it has been moved to SpecCP. To avoid an ECP violation, the trace of *combien* needs to be antecedent-governed by its A’-antecedent, a relationship arguably interrupted by the A’-element *beaucoup* which counts as an intervening potential antecedent-governor.

Now consider (47):

- (47) ★Combien_i n’ a-t-il pas aimé [*t_i* de films] ?
 how-many *ne* has he *pas* liked of films

Here, *beaucoup* is replaced by *pas* and the same pseudo-opacity effect is created, suggesting that *pas* should be analysed syntactically in parallel fashion to *beaucoup*,

³⁹ That Relativized Minimality is at stake here is supported by the acceptability of (i):

- (i) [Combien de films]_i a-t-il beaucoup aimé *t_i*
 how-many of films has he lots liked
 ‘How many films did he like a lot?’

In (i), the Θ -marked internal argument of *aimer* ‘to like’ has been moved to SpecCP. The result is grammatical despite the intervening *beaucoup*. This is arguably attributable to the fact that, as an argument trace, *t_i* does not need to be antecedent-governed in order to be properly governed. Rather, proper government can be achieved on the basis of Θ -government by the verb.

etc.^{40,41}. So, in this section, we have seen that *pas* parallels *beaucoup*, etc., in a number of interesting ways which suggest that we should analyse *pas* syntactically in the same way as the other nominal quantifiers.

Before concluding this section, we must address the important issue of the difference between *pas* and the other nominal quantifiers which is a consequence of the former's [+NEG] specification. For, while non-negative nominal quantifiers will be able to remain adjoined to VP at S-structure, the Neg Criterion in (2) will, we would like to assume, oblige *pas* to raise to SpecNegP. Furthermore, we can exploit the conclusions we draw in chapter 1, section 1.2.7.3 about the movement patterns of lexical infinitives to back up this assumption. In chapter 1, section 1.2.7.3, we concluded that lexical infinitives can raise up to T° but not to AgrS°. Assuming a CP-AgrSP-NegP-TP-MoodP-VP clausal hierarchy, we predict that the order LI-*beaucoup* is grammatical (where LI stands for lexical infinitive and *beaucoup* represents all non-negative nominal quantifiers) while the order LI-*pas* is not. This is so since the only way for a lexical infinitive to precede *pas* (in SpecNegP) would be for it to have raised into AgrS° which it cannot do. In contrast, a lexical infinitive can precede *beaucoup*, etc., (VP-adjoined) simply by raising to Mood° or T°, which it can do. As the following examples illustrate, these predictions are borne out by the data:

- (48) a. ★Il est inutile de ne parler pas (★LI-*pas*)
 It is useless of *ne* speak-INF *pas*
 'It's pointless not talking.'

⁴⁰ It should be stressed that the ungrammaticality of (46a) and (47) is due to their A'-binding configurations; it is not a consequence of any semantic incompatibility between the quantifiers in the examples. Sentence (46b) shows that *combien* and *beaucoup* can co-occur while (the admittedly rather archaic) exclamation in (i) below shows that *pas* and *combien* are compatible:

- (i) Combien il n' a pas_i voulu avoir [t_i d' enfants] !
 how-much he *ne* has *pas* wanted have-INF of children
 'How he didn't want children!'

In (i), it is *pas* which has been extracted from the pseudo-partitive. If the exclamative quantifier *combien* is generated AgrSP-adjoined or in SpecCP, the lack of Relativized Minimality effects and grammatical status of (i) are predicted: no potential antecedent-governor interrupts an A'-binding relationship. For discussion of exclamatives in French, see Radford (1989).

⁴¹ An analysis of (46b) involving LF raising of the direct object, i.e., QR, is not a problem. Assuming that the entire direct object would undergo QR (rather than just *combien*) as in the example of overt movement in (i) in footnote 39, the absence of Relativized Minimality effects can be attributed to the fact that, as a Θ -marked complement, the ECP is satisfied by virtue of the direct object being head and Θ -governed by the verb.

- b. Il est inutile de parler beaucoup
 It is useless of speak-INF *beaucoup*
 'It's pointless talking a lot.'

(LI-*beaucoup* = OK)

We therefore conclude that *pas* raises to a position higher than *beaucoup*, etc., namely SpecNegP and motivate this movement on the basis of the need to license *ne*, as discussed in chapter 1, section 1.3.5. More generally, we have seen that the distribution of *beaucoup*, etc., and *pas* show similarities which lend themselves to a parallel analysis of all these items. In the next section, we see that extraction facts also support a derivational analysis of *pas*.

2.3.4.2 Evidence: extraction facts

Support for a derivational analysis of *pas* comes from extraction facts⁴². Following work on 'islands' in the tradition of Ross (1967), there is a body of literature suggesting that PPs are islands in French but not in English. According to Pollock (1991: 87-8), for example, 'le français est, lui, rebelle à toute extraction à partir d'un PP'. (French does not allow any extraction from a PP-embedded position.) This constraint has been used to account for the fact that preposition-stranding is, under certain conditions, possible in English, but not in French⁴³, as illustrated in (49):

- (49) a. There's [the guy]_i Op_i John used to go out with *t_i*
 b. ★Voilà [le type]_i Op_i que Jean sortait avec *t_i*
 there the guy that J. went-out with
 (= (49a))

Assuming that the contrast illustrated by the data in (49) can indeed be accounted for in terms of the respective island status of PPs in English and French, and given that the analysis of *pas* proposed in this chapter is based on movement, we predict that *pas* raising is impossible from an extraction site within a PP to a landing site outside PP. We can use this prediction to evaluate our proposed syntactic analysis of *pas*: to do so, we need structures in which – according to our analysis – *pas* is base-generated within a PP while

⁴² The data and analysis presented in this section were first presented in Rowlett (1993c: 5-7, section 2.1).

⁴³ The reader is referred to Pollock (1991) for a recent discussion and account of PP-islands. Pollock compares and contrasts French, English and the Scandinavian languages. A precise explanation of PP-islandhood is not central to our discussion here. The judgement for (49b) applies to metropolitan French.

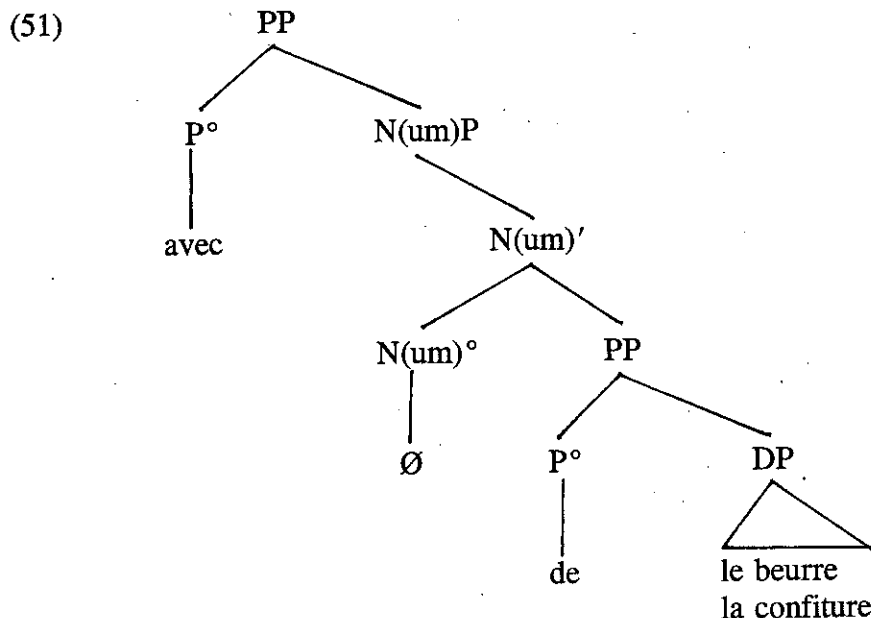
the nearest SpecNegP (to which *pas* will have to raise in order to license *ne*) is outside PP.

Assuming, further, that *pas* is one of Battye's nominal quantifiers and is therefore generated either within an indefinite NumP or as a VP-adverb, the relevant structures will contain either a PP-embedded indefinite NumP (containing *pas*) or a PP-embedded verbal predicate (to which *pas* is adjoined). However, given the status of the null pronominal anaphor PRO – the assumed subject of embedded infinitives – and the proliferation of functional heads currently being proposed in the literature, e.g., AgrSP, AgrOP, TP, AspP, NegP, it is debatable whether a bare VP could be generated within a PP without being dominated by one or more functional projections including, where relevant, NegP. It is therefore unclear whether *pas* adjoined to a VP and embedded in a PP would ever need to cross the PP node to reach the nearest SpecNegP. For this reason, we shall restrict our attention to PP-embedded indefinite NumPs containing *pas* in SpecNumP.

Thus, we can test our prediction with respect to clauses containing a PP whose head P° takes an indefinite NumP as its complement. For, although our model allows the nominal quantifier *pas* to be generated in SpecNumP, the island status of the dominating PP will not allow *pas* to be extracted for promotion to SpecNegP to satisfy the Neg Criterion. Consider (50):

- (50) a. J'aime tartiner mon pain [PP avec [\emptyset du beurre et de la confiture]]
 I like spread-INF my bread with of-the butter and of the jam
 'I like to spread butter and jam on my bread.'
- b. *J'aime pas_i tartiner mon pain [PP avec [t_i de beurre et de confiture]]
 I like *pas* spread-INF my bread with of butter and of jam
 'I don't like to spread butter and jam on my bread.'
- c. J'aime pas tartiner mon pain avec du beurre et de la confiture
 (= (50b))

The string in (50a) contains a PP whose head P° , *avec* 'with', takes an indefinite nominal complement. As in (14), the non-overt noun, \emptyset , subcategorises for a PP headed by *de* 'of'. This *partitive* structure, discussed in section 2.3.1 above, and illustrated in (51) below, is licensed in our model.



A similar structure, in which *pas* is generated in SpecNumP, is also licensed in our model. (See (31) above.) In this case, given that *pas* will absorb the oblique Case assigned by the preposition to its complement, the NP will be Case-marked by the prepositional Case-marker *de*, forming the basis of a *pseudo-partitive* structure. If movement of *pas* from within the indefinite NumP to SpecNegP were then possible, i.e., if the intervening PP node were not an island, then we would expect the negative of (50a) to be (50b), with just such a pseudo-partitive structure. Yet, the string in (50b) is not the negative of the one in (50a) and is, in fact, ungrammatical. Instead, the negative of (50a) is (50c), in which the indefinite nominal retains its *partitive* structure, as in (51). A consequence of this analysis is that, in (50c), *pas* cannot be generated within the PP-embedded indefinite. Rather, *pas* must be VP-adjoined. This allows us to contrast (50b) with (50c). In the ungrammatical (50b), an attempt is made to move *pas* across a PP node, as illustrated schematically in (52), which is impossible given the island status of the highlighted PP, hence the ungrammaticality of (50b).

(52) ★... pas_i ... $\underbrace{[\text{PP} \dots [\text{NumP} \dots t_i \dots]]}_X$...]]

In (50c), in contrast, where *pas* originates from a position adjoined to the matrix predicate headed by *aimer* 'to like' rather than a position within the PP, promotion to SpecNegP is unproblematic, as in (53), since no island node is crossed.

(53) ... pas_i ... $\underbrace{[\text{VP} t_i]}_X$ [VP ... [PP ...]]

Of course, this account of the ungrammaticality of (50b) hinges crucially on a derivational

approach to the syntax of *pas*, as proposed in this chapter.

The data in (54) point to the same conclusion:

- (54) a. %L' un d' entre eux (★n')est venu [PP avec [NP pas d' idées du tout]]
 the one of between them *ne* is come with *pas* of ideas of-the all
 'One of them came without a single idea.'
- b. ★L' un d' entre eux n' est pas_i venu [PP avec [NP t_i d' idées du tout]]
 the one of between them *ne* is *pas* come with of ideas of-the all
 (= (54a))

Although (54a) would probably be frowned upon by prescriptive grammarians, and is certainly not standard written French, it is judged by many native speakers to be an acceptable utterance⁴⁴. It would seem that, in (54a), *pas* appears in its base position, i.e., within the complement of the preposition *avec* 'with'. Clearly, this is not a canonical instance of sentential negation: first, *ne* is excluded⁴⁵; second, *pas* has not raised to

⁴⁴ Consider also the following examples from Gaatone (1971: 111), cited in H&L (1992/3: 45):

- (i) a. Aux cérémonies du mois prochain, aucune délégation étrangère n' a
 to-the ceremonies of-the month next, no delegation foreign *ne* has
 été invitée. Non seulement *pas d' Américains*, bien sûr...
 been invited. not only *pas* of Americans, well sur
 'To next month's ceremonies, no foreign delegation has been invited. Not just
 no Americans, of course, ...'
- b. Entre nous, je préférerais une femme qui me fasse souffrir à *pas*
 between us, I prefer-COND a woman who me make-SUBJ suffer to *pas*
 de femme du tout.
 of woman of-the all
 'Between you and me, I'd rather have a wife who made me suffer than no
 wife at all.'

⁴⁵ This is the view of Muller (1991: 151) with respect to the examples in (i):

- (i) a. Elle (★ne) s' habille [PP pour pas cher]
 she *ne* REFL dresses for *pas* expensive
 'She wears inexpensive clothes.'
- b. Il (★n')arrivera [PP dans pas longtemps]
 he *ne* arrive-FUT in *pas* long
 'He'll be here soon.'
- c. Il (★ne) sort [PP avec pas un sou en poche]
 he *ne* goes-out with *pas* a penny in pocket
 'He goes out without a penny on him.'

Muller's judgements in (i) above suggest that the marker of the scope of sentential negation, *ne*, must be licensed in some strictly syntactic way, e.g., by virtue of a spec-head configuration with an operator in SpecNegP, as argued in chapter 1, section 1.3.5. To that extent, the data in (i) provide additional support for H&Z's (1991) Neg Criterion. The idea pursued here is that the necessary spec-head configuration can only be created by movement. See also Moritz & Valois (1993: 319) who say '[...] sentential negation is best accounted for

SpecNegP which, given the other examples we have reviewed, seems to be a property of sentential negation in French⁴⁶. Indeed, given the (S-structure) island status of PP in French, we predict that it would be impossible for *pas* to be promoted to SpecNegP at that level. This prediction is borne out by the ungrammaticality of (54b), in which an attempt has been made to move *pas* from within the PP headed by *avec* 'with' to SpecNegP, outside PP. The judgement is perfectly straightforward and indeed expected given the island status of PP in French and, more importantly for our purposes, the movement approach to the syntax of *pas* proposed in this chapter.

The final empirical argument we shall invoke here and which hinges on the island status of PP in French and a derivational analysis of *pas* is illustrated by the paradigm in (55). The relevant issue here is the reading of *pas un(e) seul(e) N* 'not a single N'. More specifically, the issue is whether this sequence can be interpreted idiomatically as 'no N at all' (cf. Vikner (1978: 88)) or, rather, whether it is interpreted as 'not just one N, but more Ns'. The data suggest that the lexicalised idiomatic reading is restricted to certain syntactic configurations.

- (55) a. Avec pas une seule idée en tête, il est allé voir son professeur
 with *pas* a single idea in head, he is come see-INF his teacher
 'He went to see his teacher without a single idea in mind.'
- b. Marie n' a pas reçu une seule lettre depuis des mois
 M. *ne* has *pas* received a single letter since of-the months
 'M. hasn't received a single letter in months.'
- c. %Il est venu me voir [_{PP} avec pas une seule idée en tête]
 he is come me see-INF with *pas* a single idea in head
 'He came to see me without a single idea in mind.' (= idiomatic reading)

in terms of licensing of the head of a Neg(ation) Phrase. This licensing results from movement of a negative XP into the specifier of a NegP [...]. We assume that *pas* in these examples is a constituent negator. Muller's judgements then follow H&L (1992/3: 38-9) who show that *ne* is incompatible with constituent negation.

⁴⁶ The failure of *pas* to raise, e.g., to SpecNegP, at S-structure in the text examples is not necessarily problematic. It might be possible to invoke Rizzi's (1995) functional definition of operators. This would allow us to claim that, at S-structure, *pas* fails to take sentential scope and, hence, fails to count as an operator at that level. As for LF, Rizzi assumes that the functional definition of operators does not apply at that level; consequently, *pas* will have to raise, possibly out of its containing PP. However, if, as assumed by Huang (1982), subadjacency does not apply at LF, the island status of the PP would not be an obstacle to movement. See also Haegeman (1995) for discussion of Rizzi's (1995) functional definition of operators and an alternative proposal. What seems clear about the examples in (54a) and footnote 45 example (i) is that the negative takes strictly local, i.e., non-sentential, scope.

d. Il n'est pas venu me voir [_{PP} avec une seule idée en tête] ...

In (55a), where *pas un(e) seul(e) N* appears as a single constituent in the absolute construction, the idiomatic reading is available. In (55b), where *pas* is separated from *un(e) seul(e) N* and, presumably, occupies SpecNegP, the idiomatic reading is also still available. We attribute this availability to the fact that *pas un(e) seul(e) N* is generated as a single constituent, and that *pas* is subsequently separated from *un(e) seul(e) N* as a consequence of raising to SpecNegP to license *ne*. In (55c), *pas un(e) seul(e) N* appears in a PP-embedded position. The % diacritic indicates that (55c) would be frowned upon by prescriptivists, much in the same way as (54a) above. The string in (55c) is nevertheless a perfectly acceptable spoken utterance for many speakers, and the idiomatic reading is still available, as indicated by the translation and due, once again, to the fact that the string is generated as a single constituent. In (55d), in contrast, the idiomatic reading is unavailable. What is crucially different about (55d) is the presence of the PP node between *pas* and *un(e) seul(e) N*. The presence of this node, we would argue, prevents *pas* from raising out of the PP. The fact, therefore, that *pas* appears outside the PP in (55d) indicates that *pas* was never inside the PP (given that the string is grammatical). This, in turn, means that *pas un(e) seul(e) N* could not have been generated as a constituent; hence, the lexicalised idiomatic reading is unavailable. The only reading available for (55d), i.e., 'not just one N, but more Ns', should be clear from (55d') below.

- (55) d'. Il n'est pas venu me voir avec une seule idée en tête, mais plusieurs
 he *ne* is *pas* come me see-INF with a single idea in head, but several
 'He didn't come to see me just one idea in mind, but several.'

In conclusion, then, PP-extraction facts suggest that a movement analysis of the syntax of sentential negation involving *pas* such as the one advanced in this chapter is along the right lines. Before summarising the conclusions reached in this chapter, in the next section we discuss a number of criticisms directed at our analysis by H&L (1992/3).

2.3.5 Hirschbühler & Labelle (1992/3)

An early version of the above analysis assimilating *pas* to *beaucoup*, etc., is discussed by H&L⁴⁷ (pp. 41-53, section 2) and has been taken up by numerous members of audiences at which this work has been presented. After presenting the analysis in Rowlett (1992b)

⁴⁷ Unless otherwise explicitly specified, references in this section to work by these authors are to H&L (1992/3).

(a preliminary version of Rowlett (1993a) and of the modified analysis presented above), H&L (pp. 44-5) suggest – uncontroversially enough – that the following are desirable if the relationship between *pas* and pseudo-partitive direct objects is to be maintained in terms of movement of the former out of the latter:

- (a) QàD should always be analysed in terms of movement;
- (b) the restrictions on QàD (with and without *pas*) should be similar and analysable in terms of base-generation of the quantifier within the direct object; and,
- (c) there should be no pseudo-partitive structures which cannot be analysed in terms of extraction of an (overt?) quantifier.

H&L suggest (p. 46) that there are cases of pseudo-partitive direct objects out of which it would not be plausible to suggest that an overt quantifier has been extracted, and that the parallels suggested here between QàD and negation are not as neat as the proposed parallel analysis would lead one to expect. In each of the cases discussed here, we shall suggest that the distinction to be drawn between *pas* and other nominal quantifiers is semantic in nature rather than syntactic and, therefore, that these cases do not present a problem for the parallel syntactic analysis proposed here.

First, H&L suggest that, while QàD involving *beaucoup*, etc., is sensitive to subadjacency, QàD involving *pas* is not, as illustrated in (56)-(58), H&L's (p. 46, (29)-(31)):

- (56) a. Je n' ai pas l' intention d' acheter de livres
 I ne have *pas* the intention of buy-INF of books
 'I don't intend to buy any books.'
- b. ★J'ai beaucoup l' intention d' acheter de livres
 I have lots the intention of buy-INF of books
- (57) a. Je ne crois pas qu' il ait acheté de livres
 I ne think *pas* that he have-SUBJ bought of books
 'I don't think he has bought any books.'
- b. ★J'ai beaucoup cru qu' il a acheté de livres
 I have lots thought that he has bought of books
- (58) a. Je n' ai pas vu Pierre acheter de livres
 I ne have *pas* seen P. buy-INF of books
 'I didn't see P. buy any books.'
- b. ★J'ai beaucoup vu Pierre acheter de livres
 I have lots seen P. buy-INF of books

Within the terms of the analysis proposed above, in each of the (a) examples above, *pas* is assumed to have been generated within the pseudo-partitive in the embedded clause. It

is then assumed to have been extracted, ultimately raising to the matrix SpecNegP. This produces perfectly grammatical sentences, as indicated. In each of the (b) examples, in which *beaucoup* has apparently undergone the same movement, the strings are ungrammatical. H&L suggest the ungrammaticality of these (b) examples is due to a subjacency violation. This result is, of course, a problem if *pas* and *beaucoup* are analysed in identical fashion since subjacency should apply equally to both *pas* and *beaucoup*.

In response to H&L's discussion of the data, we would suggest that the distinction between the (a) and (b) examples in (56)-(58) can be accounted for independently of the QàD issue (and subjacency) with reference to the ungrammaticality of (56c), (57c) and (58c) below:

- (56) c. ★J'ai beaucoup l' intention d' acheter ces livres
I have lots the intention of buy-INF these books

- (57) c. ★J'ai beaucoup cru qu' il a acheté ces livres
I have lots thought that he has bought these books

- (58) c. ★J'ai beaucoup vu Pierre acheter ces livres
I have lots seen P. buy-INF these books

The examples in (56c), (57c) and (58c) are identical to those in (56b), (57b) and (58b) but for the fact that the direct objects are definite rather than indefinite. Accordingly, we would not suggest that the quantifier *beaucoup* has been raised out of the direct object. Nevertheless, the examples are ungrammatical. Given that no movement is posited in these examples, their ungrammaticality cannot be attributed to subjacency effects. This being so, it is quite plausible that the ungrammaticality of (56b), (57b) and (58b) is not due to subjacency effects either. Recall the observation by Battye (1989b: 7) that the possibility of nominal quantification is dependent upon the possibility of VP-adjunction. Since, in (56c), (57c) and (58c), such adjunction is impossible, we predict that QàD will be impossible in (56b), (57b) and (58b), without recourse to subjacency. If this line of reasoning is justified, the syntactic distinction H&L draw between *beaucoup* and *pas* is unfounded. Rather, we would suggest the problem with the (b) and (c) examples is a semantic incompatibility between *beaucoup* on the one hand and *avoir l'intention de Vinf*, *croire* and *voir Vinf* on the other⁴⁸. That the (a) examples are grammatical comes as no

⁴⁸ Similar facts apply to *avoir envie de Vinf* 'to want to V'. Thanks to Odile Cyrille for pointing this out to us.

surprise since the following (d) sentences are also fine:

(56) d. Je n' ai pas l' intention d' acheter ces livres
I ne have *pas* the intention of buy-INF these books
'I don't intend to buy these books.'

(57) d. Je ne crois pas qu' il ait acheté ces livres
I ne think *pas* that he has-SUBJ bought these books
'I don't think he has bought these books.'

(58) d. Je n' ai pas vu Pierre acheter ces livres
I ne have *pas* seen P. buy-INF these books
'I didn't see P. buy these books.'

Second, H&L suggest that the contrast between (59a) (H&L, p. 56fn13, (i)) and (59b) (H&L, p. 46, (32b)) below undermine the parallel analysis we have given to *pas* on the one hand and nominal quantifiers such as *beaucoup* on the other.

- (59) a. un sujet sur lequel ne sont pas parus de livres intéressants
a subject on which ne are *pas* appeared of books interesting
'a subject on which no interesting books have appeared'
- b. ★un sujet sur lequel sont beaucoup parus de livres intéressants
a subject on which are lots appeared of books interesting

Here again, though, the ungrammaticality of the example with the nominal quantifier, i.e., (59b), can be attributed to a (semantic) incompatibility between the quantifier and the particular predicate, rather than to any syntactic difference between the nominal quantifier and *pas*. Consider (60):

- (60) ★Ces livres intéressants sont beaucoup parus
these books interesting are lots appeared

Here, there are no indefinite arguments and no movement operations would be posited to account for the surface position of *beaucoup*. Nevertheless, the string is ungrammatical, presumably due to some semantic incompatibility between the quantifier *beaucoup* and the predicate *paraître* 'to appear'. If this is true, it would also account for the ungrammaticality of (59b), without the need to conclude any syntactic difference between *pas* and the nominal quantifiers.

Third, H&L (pp. 49-50, section 2.2.2.2) suggest that *pas* does not give rise to Relativized Minimality effects while other nominal quantifiers do. Consider (61) (H&L, p. 50, (43)), both of which are grammatical:

- (61) a. Gérard ne mange pas souvent de dessert
 G. *ne* eats *pas* often of dessert
 ‘G. doesn’t often eat dessert.’
 b. Gérard ne mange souvent pas de dessert
 G. *ne* eats often *pas* of dessert
 ‘Often, G. doesn’t eat dessert.’

H&L note the scope difference between (61a) and (61b). In (61a), *pas* has scope over *souvent* ‘often’; in (61b), the reverse is true. Scope properties are therefore reflected in/determined by superficial order. Given the (pseudo-partitive) form of the direct object, we would suggest, in both cases, that *pas* has raised out of the direct object. In (61a), one might expect this to give rise to Relativized Minimality effects since *souvent* intervenes between *pas* and its trace, as in (61a’). However, such effects are not produced; (61a) is perfectly grammatical.

- (61) a’. Gérard ne mange pas_i souvent t_i de dessert
 (= (61a))

H&L suggest that the ungrammaticality of (62) below (in contrast with the grammaticality of (61a)) is a problem if *pas* is analysed along the same lines of *beaucoup*.

- (62) ★Luc a beaucoup souvent eu de chance (H&L, p. 50, (45b))
 L. has lots often had of luck

In (62), the ungrammaticality is attributed to the fact that *beaucoup* has been raised above *souvent* and that this movement violates Relativized Minimality, as expected:

- (62’) ★Luc a beaucoup_i souvent eu t_i de chance
 (= (62))

We would like to deal with these data by suggesting that H&L’s interpretation of the movement involved in (61a) is incorrect. Consider (63):

- (63) A: Est-ce que tu vas au cinéma?
 is it that you go to-the cinema
 ‘Do you go to the cinema?’
 B: Non, pas souvent.
 no, *pas* often
 ‘No, not often.’

In the reply to the question in (63), *pas* modifies/qualifies *souvent* ‘often’ and is, therefore,

presumably adjoined to *souvent* forming a constituent: [_α pas [_α souvent]]⁴⁹. Now, assume that, in (61a), *pas* is also adjoined to *souvent* and that the entire constituent is generated in SpecNumP. We can assume that, in order to take sentential scope, the negative feature of *pas* percolates up to the mother node of the entire constituent and that, consequently, the entire constituent will have to raise to SpecNegP to license *ne*. In this way, given that this constituent is raised as one, no potential intervening antecedent-governors are crossed, and no Relativized Minimality effects are expected. In (61a), *pas souvent* occupies SpecNegP as a single constituent rather than *pas* occupying this position alone having raised over *souvent*. The grammaticality of (61a) is thus unproblematic. Turning now to (62), the question arises as to why a similar approach is not possible. The answer, it seems to us, lies in the fact that *beaucoup* and *souvent* cannot be generated together as a constituent: ★[*beaucoup souvent*]. Consequently, the only way to generate (62) would be for *beaucoup* to appear within the direct object at D-structure and for *souvent* to be MoodP-adjoined, as in (62') above. The examples in (64) show that these are (separately, at least) perfectly possible:

- (64) a. Luc a beaucoup eu de chance (H&L, p. 50, (45a/f))
 L. has lots had of luck
 'L. has had lots of luck.'
 b. Luc a souvent eu de la chance
 L. has often had of the luck
 'L. has often had (good) luck.'

The ungrammaticality produced in (62), i.e., where *beaucoup* and *souvent* co-occur and where *beaucoup* raises over *souvent*, can then rightly be attributed to Relativized Minimality, as illustrated in (62'). Notice that, where these two elements co-occur but where *beaucoup* fails to raise over *souvent*, there are no problems:

- (65) a. Luc a souvent beaucoup_i eu t_i de chance (H&L, p. 50 (45d))
 L. has often lots had of chance
 'L. has often has lots of luck.'
 b. Luc a souvent eu beaucoup de chance
 L. has often had lots of chance
 (= (65a))

⁴⁹ Alternatively, *pas* could be the specifier of *souvent*. The two elements would still form a constituent: [_{βP} [_α pas] [_{β'} souvent]]. Recall that Sportiche's (1988: 429) 'Adjunct Projection Principle' and Chomsky's (1986b: 16) general theory of adjunction, together, oblige 'modifiers' to appear adjacent to their non-argument XP 'modifiee' or the head of their 'modifiee'.

Once again, then, the contrast between *pas* and *beaucoup* can be accounted for on independent semantic grounds, and does not undermine the syntactic parallels posited here.

Before leaving H&L's criticism of the approach to the syntax of *pas* adopted here, we would like to discuss the data in (66) and (67), brought to our attention by an anonymous *Journal of French Language Studies* reviewer of Rowlett (1993a) as a difference between *pas* and the non-negative nominal quantifiers. It seems to us that these data are in fact as unproblematic for our analysis as those presented by H&L.

- (66) a. Pierre (n') a pas voulu de cadeau(x)
 b. ★Pierre a beaucoup voulu de cadeaux
 P. ne has wanted of present(s)
 'P. didn't want any presents/ P. wanted lots of presents.'
- (67) a. Pierre (n') a pas eu de peine
 b. ★Pierre a beaucoup eu de peine
 P. ne has had of pain
 'P. didn't have any trouble/P. had lots of trouble.'

We mentioned these data in a footnote in Rowlett (1993a: 58fn5) suggesting that it might be possible to resolve the apparent problem with reference to Pollock's (1989: 389-91) observation that the past participles of French modals and *être/avoir* behave differently from lexical past participles. On reflection, it seems more likely that the ungrammaticality of the two (b) examples, i.e., the ones with *beaucoup*, should be handled in the same way as (68):

- (68) a. ★Pierre a beaucoup voulu ce cadeau
 P. has lots wanted this present
- b. ★Pierre a beaucoup eu de la peine à finir son repas
 P. has lots had of the pain to finish-INF his meal

(68a) shows that the adverbial use of *beaucoup* is incompatible with *vouloir* 'to want'; (68b) shows that *beaucoup* is incompatible with *avoir de la peine à Vinf* 'to have difficulty doing something'. The distinction between the (a) and (b) examples in (66) and (67) is therefore independent of the syntax of *pas/beaucoup* and does not undermine the analysis proposed here.

In conclusion, then, it would seem that the 'problems' presented by H&L and the anonymous *JFLS* reviewer are not in fact problematic at all. Consequently, we shall continue to assume that the syntactic proposals presented here for *pas* are by and large correct.

2.4 Summary

In this chapter, we have addressed issues surrounding the syntax of *pas*, the principal marker of sentential negation in Modern French. Following Pollock (1989), we assumed that, in the unmarked case, *pas* licenses *ne* by occupying SpecNegP at S-structure. Indeed, this assumption was, in part, the basis of our conclusions in chapter 1 about the extent of the movement of different types of infinitives in the language and was supported by the Neg Criterion. However, unlike Pollock (1989), we argued that rather than being the base position of *pas*, SpecNegP is, instead, its derived position. *Pas* was argued to be generated in a lower position and raised, in the syntax, to SpecNegP. To be precise, we argued that, typically, *pas* is base-generated in a left-VP-adjoined position which reflects the nature of the relationship between the negation and the predicate. Raising to SpecNegP was motivated to license *ne* at S-structure.

In chapter 3, we put the syntax of negation in French to one side and adopt a more cross-linguistic perspective. To be precise, we consider the availability of Negative Concord (henceforth, NC), a phenomenon whereby the negative feature(s) of negative constituents appearing in the same domain fail to cancel each other out. On the basis of the observation that some languages allow NC while others do not, the theoretical import of the chapter will be to explain why this is so. On the basis of the conclusions drawn, we return, in chapters 4 and 5 to Modern French and consider the syntax of the other main elements which can appear in association with *ne*.

Jespersen's Generalisation

3.1 Introduction

Having set out our basic theoretical assumptions and discussed a number of aspects of the syntax and semantics of pre-verbal *ne* in French in chapter 1, we went on, in chapter 2, to offer a syntactic analysis of French *pas*. In the present chapter, we move away from exclusively French considerations and adopt a more cross-linguistic perspective. We consider the nature of the relationship between the way languages mark sentential negation and the (un)availability of a phenomenon known as negative concord (henceforth, NC)¹, which has provoked considerable interest among linguists over the years but which has so far failed to be given anything like a generally accepted explanation. Indeed, in her recent study of the syntax of negation, Haegeman acknowledges (1995: 304fn2) that it is not clear what the distinctive property of NC languages is, and decides (1995: 166) to leave the precise characterisation of NC on the research agenda.

Haegeman does, however, make reference to early discussion of the topic by Jespersen, and it is with him that we shall start. Jespersen (1924: 333) observes that languages 'in which the ordinary negative element is comparatively small in phonetic bulk' are characterised by NC, while languages which use 'fuller negatives' fail to allow NC². Jespersen notes further that the way languages mark pure sentential negation is subject to a cyclic development diachronically: languages fluctuate, over time, between marking pure sentential negation with negative markers which are 'comparatively small in phonetic bulk' and using 'fuller negatives'. This diachronic pattern is referred to as the Negative Cycle in the literature. The (im)possibility of NC is thus determined by where a language stands in the Negative Cycle. The rather sturdy generalisation which can be captured will be referred to as *Jespersen's Generalisation*, for want of a better term. Our aim is to account for *Jespersen's Generalisation*.

¹ The material in this chapter is based, in part, on Rowlett (1994c). For alternative approaches to NC, see Newson (1994) and Déprez (1995a/b).

² NC is defined and illustrated in section 3.3; the distinction between negative markers which are 'comparatively small in phonetic bulk' and 'fuller negatives' is given a structural basis in section 3.2.2.

The relevance of *Jespersen's Generalisation* for the syntax of sentential negation in Modern French is as follows: by determining where Modern French stands in the Negative Cycle, *Jespersen's Generalisation* allows us to predict whether Modern French is an NC language or not. Without wishing to pre-empt the discussion in subsequent sections and chapters, it will be seen that this makes crucial predictions about the properties of a certain class of 'negative' elements which, like *pas*, can appear in association with *ne*. These elements, and the import of *Jespersen's Generalisation* will be discussed in section 3.6.2 and in chapters 4 and 5.

The present chapter is organised in the following way. In section 3.2, we discuss the Negative Cycle; more generally, we introduce Jespersen's (1924) typology of systems of sentential negation. In particular, in section 3.2.2, we show how the Negative Cycle can be viewed within Pollock's (1989) NegP hypothesis, introduced in chapter 1, section 1.3.1, and exploited in the discussion of *pas* in chapter 2. According to the NegP hypothesis, the locus of polarity features is an autonomous syntactic projection: NegP. The typological difference between the two different types of negative marker distinguished by Jespersen is viewed in section 3.2.2 in structural terms: those negative markers which are 'comparatively small in phonetic bulk' are analysed as head elements generated under Neg°, while the 'fuller negatives' are phrasal elements associated with SpecNegP.

Section 3.3 presents NC, the phenomenon whereby (the negative feature of) multiple negative elements appearing in the same clause fail to cancel each other out, contrary to what one might expect if the behaviour of negation in natural language could be assimilated in straightforward fashion to the behaviour of the Boolean connective \neg . In Boolean logic, where one occurrence of \neg has scope of another, the former cancels out the latter. In NC languages, multiple negatives do not cancel each other out; if anything, they reinforce each other. NC is a common but not universal feature of natural language. Thus, in the Standard English (henceforth, SE) example in (1a), the two negative constituents cancel each other out leading to logical double negation (henceforth, DN). In contrast, in the Italian example in (1b), the two negative constituents do not cancel each other out; rather, they reinforce each other. SE is a non-NC language while Italian is an NC language.

- (1) a. No-one did nothing (SE: DN)
 (i.e., everyone did something)
- b. Nessuno ha fatto niente (Italian: NC)
 no-one has done nothing
 'No-one did anything.'

From section 3.3 onwards, we deal with Jespersen's observation that whether a language is an NC language or not depends on where it stands in the Negative Cycle, i.e., on the nature of its regular negative marker. More specifically, whether a language is an NC language or a non-NC language depends on whether its regular negative marker is generated under Neg° or associated with SpecNegP. Jespersen's observation is formulated as the generalisation in (2):

(2) *Jespersen's Generalisation:*

A language is an NC language iff the regular marker of pure sentential negation is not associated with SpecNegP.

Section 3.3 is devoted to showing that (2) is a sturdy generalisation³.

Before addressing potential ways of accounting for the generalisation in (2), we reconsider, in section 3.4, Haegeman & Zanuttini's (henceforth, H&Z's) (1991: 244) Neg Criterion, the wellformedness condition on the distribution and interpretation of negative constituents with sentential scope which we characterised, in chapter 1, section 1.4, as a construction-specific version of the more general AFFECT criterion. According to the Neg Criterion, irrespective of where a given language stands in the Negative Cycle, i.e., irrespective of whether it is Neg° or SpecNegP which is associated with the overt negative marker, *both* a head position *and* an XP are syntactically active and 'agree' in a spec-head configuration. In section 3.4.2, we suggest that spec-head 'agreement' should be reinterpreted. To be precise, we suggest it should be weakened in such a way that it is expressed in terms of *compatibility* rather than strict agreement. This will allow the abstract feature [+NEG] to be subject to cyclic fluctuation – not just underlyingly – in the same way as the overt realisation of sentential negation. This amounts to claiming that there is an 'abstract' semantico-syntactic Negative Cycle alongside Jespersen's 'overt' morpho-phonological Negative Cycle; in the same way that sentential negation does not have to be *overtly* associated with both Neg° and SpecNegP, so it will be argued that the *abstract* feature [+NEG] does not have to appear on *both* Neg° *and* SpecNegP in order for the Neg Criterion to be satisfied. This weaker version of spec-head 'agreement' will subsequently be exploited, in section 3.5.1.3, to account for *Jespersen's Generalisation*.

In section 3.5, we turn our attention to *Jespersen's Generalisation* in (2). Before

³ As will be discussed in section 3.6.2 and in chapters 4 and 5, (2) has consequences for the analysis of elements in Modern French commonly referred to as 'negative quantifiers'. One potential counterexample to (2), West Flemish, is discussed and analysed in section 3.6.1.

offering our own analysis, we review approaches to negative polarity item (henceforth, NPI) licensing proposed by Zanuttini (1991), based on L-marking (section 3.5.1.1), and by Progovac (1994; etc.), based on A'-binding (section 3.5.1.2). We conclude that Zanuttini's L-marking approach does not achieve empirical adequacy. At the same time, Progovac's A'-binding proposal raises a number of theory-internal questions. More precisely, while Progovac identifies clear parallels between the distribution of pronominals and anaphors on the one hand and negative quantifiers and NPIs on the other, her (A'-binding) analysis of negative quantifier and NPI licensing has a number of undesirable dissimilarities with the traditional (A-binding) analysis of the distribution of anaphors and pronouns. In addition, Progovac's A'-binding model is incapable of dealing with the attested cross-linguistic and diachronic variation at the heart of the Negative Cycle. In other words, Progovac's proposal cannot, as it stands, account for the distinction between NC and non-NC languages.

In section 3.5.1.3, we propose an analysis of *Jespersen's Generalisation* – based on Progovac's account of NPI licensing – which resolves the problems mentioned above with respect to Progovac's original proposals. Specifically, the analysis in section 3.5.1.3 exploits the flexibility of the 'weak' version of the spec-head relationship argued for in section 3.4.2. Together with an A'-binding mechanism which is more strictly parallel to the A-binding mechanism invoked in anaphor/pronoun licensing, the approach can deal with the attested cross-linguistic and diachronic variation which Progovac's analysis fails to capture. The proposed analysis is applied to concrete examples in section 3.5.2.

In section 3.6, we deal with two apparent problems for *Jespersen's Generalisation*, namely West Flemish (section 3.6.1) and Modern French (section 3.6.2). It will be argued that, rather than being problematic for *Jespersen's Generalisation*, the properties of sentential negation in these languages actually provide empirical support for the analysis proposed in section 3.5.1.3. In section 3.7.1, we speculate about another area of recent theoretical debate, namely the *pro*-drop or null subject parameter, which could possibly be illuminated by the suggestions made here. Our conclusions are summarised in section 3.7.2.

3.2 The Negative Cycle

3.2.1 The data: Jespersen

Jespersen (1924) observes a cyclic pattern in the diachronic development of systems of sentential negation. This cyclic pattern is referred to as the Negative Cycle, and is

illustrated in Germanic and Romance in (3) and (4) respectively, after Jespersen (1924: 335-6). The dates for the respective stages of the development in (3) are from Bennis *et al.* (1995b)⁴.

(3) *English:*

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| a. he ne secgeþ | (‘classical’ Old English) |
| b. he ne seiþ not | (Middle English) |
| c. he says not | (late Middle English → late 17th century) |
| d. he not says | (early 15th century → second half 18th century) |
| e. he does not say | (15th century → present) |
| f. he doesn’t say | (±1600 → present) |

(4) *French*⁵:

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|
| a. jeo ne di | (→ 1600) |
| b. je ne dis (pas) | (1600 → 1700) |
| c. je ne dis pas | (Standard written French) |
| d. je (ne) dis pas | (Standard spoken French) |
| e. je dis pas | (Colloquial French) |
- ‘I don’t say.’

The sequences in (3) and (4) reflect the diachronic development in the respective languages; however, contemporary languages are known to exemplify the various stages in the sequences. In the ‘first’⁶ instance, for example, sentential negation is marked by a pre-verbal, syntactically dependent, element alone, as in (4a). This is where Italian and Spanish stand in the Negative Cycle:

⁴ The stage represented here by (3d) was not included in Jespersen’s paradigm. It has been included here to take into account the work of Beukema (1994) and Bennis *et al.* (1995a/b). Beukema and his colleagues argue that the pattern in (3d) was rare, and essentially a bridge between (3c) and (3e).

⁵ Discussion of the Negative Cycle in French can be found in Hopper & Traugott (1993: 58), Price (1984: 252-7), Schwegler (1988: 26, 45-6) and Winters (1987).

⁶ The word ‘first’ is in inverted commas since it would be wrong to give the impression that the relevant varieties have no history prior to the stages illustrated by (3a) and (4a). Indeed, as discussed by Vennemann (1974: 366-8), the particle *ne* in (4a) is likely to be a derived form of the Latin negative adverb *non* which has been reanalysed as a natural consequence of the typological shift from XV to VX. (But see Burridge (1993: chapter 5) for critical discussion of Vennemann’s typological approach to the syntax of negation in the history of Dutch.) Posner (1985b: 265-7) also suggests that the status of the negative marker *non* could have changed over time from being a sentence adverb to being clitic-like element which forms part of the verbal complex. See Schwegler (1988: 37) for a useful illustration of how the reanalysis of an adverb in Latin as a functional head in French can be explained by the shift from OV to VO order. See also footnote 84 below.

- (5) a. Gianni *non* telefona a sua madre (Italian, Haegeman
G. *non* telephones to his mother (1995: 195, (43a)))
'G. doesn't phone his mother.'
- b. La niña *no* está hablando por teléfono (Spanish, Haegeman
the girl *no* is talking by telephone (1995: 227, (81a)))
'The girl isn't talking on the phone.'

The pre-verbal element then comes to be 'reinforced' by a syntactically independent post-verbal constituent⁷, initially only optionally⁸, 'with emphatic import'⁹, as in (4b), but subsequently obligatorily, as in (4c). Once the post-verbal element becomes compulsory, we assume it is inherently negative. It would seem that the position in the Negative Cycle occupied by some dialects of Berber is the same as that occupied by French in (4b). In the (null-subject) Taqbaylit dialect, sentential negation is marked by an (obligatory) proclitic marker, *ur*, with optional emphatic reinforcement by an independent post-verbal negative marker, *ara* (Jamal Ouhalla, personal communication).

- (6) *Ur* zrigh (ara) Idir (Taqbaylit dialect of Berber)
ur saw-1SG *ara* I.
'I didn't see I.'

Further, the following Burmese data attributed to Denise Bernot (cited by Lazard (1994)) suggest that this language is at the same stage in the Negative Cycle as the variety of Modern French exemplified in (4c). In Burmese, sentential negation is marked both by a pre-verbal negative marker, *mə*, and a post-verbal one, *Phù*¹⁰:

- (7) a. ?lo? Əu mə caN Phù (Burmese, Lazard (1994: 26, (3)))
work him *mə* organise *Phù*
'He doesn't organise his work.'
- b. ?əco Ko mə cá Phù (Lazard (1994: 26, (2)))
profit REL *mə* happen *Phù*
'There is no profit.'

⁷ A number of researchers have pointed out that the post-verbal 'reinforcer' is often a nominal element denoting a small amount, e.g., Schwegler (1988: 26).

⁸ According to Hirschbühler & Labelle (1993b: 3), in French '*ne* can be the sole lexical negative element in a clause, and it is used alone much more than in combination with *pas* or *point*' 'until at least the end of the sixteenth century'.

⁹ This phraseology is taken from Posner (1985a: 184). Posner suggests that, prior to the late fourteenth century, French *pas* had 'emphatic import'.

¹⁰ ə = schwa.

- c. mìn ùN mǝ ʔa Phù là
 you stomach mǝ be-happy Phù Q
 'Aren't you satisfied?'

(Bernot (1980: 98),
 cited by Lazard (1994: 115, (86)))

In the next stage of the Negative Cycle, the independent post-verbal negative marker suffices to mark sentential negation on its own and the clitic marker becomes first optional, as in (4d), then disappears altogether, as in (4e). The data in (8) suggest that spoken Breton is at the same stage in the Negative Cycle as the variety of Modern French exemplified in (4d). In spoken Breton, sentential negation is marked by obligatory post-verbal *ket* and, optionally, by pre-verbal *ne*:

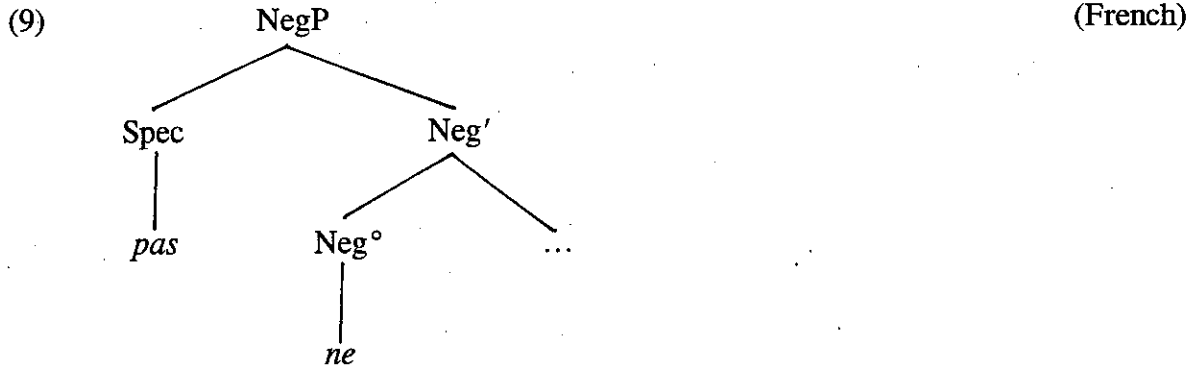
- (8) a. *Ne ziskenn ket ar vugale betek an hent* (Standard Breton, Stephens
ne go-down ket the children to the road (1993: 397))
 'The children are not going down to the road.'
 b. *'ziskenn ket ar vugale betek an hent* (Spoken Breton, Stephens
 (= (8a)) (1993: 398))

In the 'final' stage, the independent post-verbal negative marker weakens and is susceptible to reanalysis, or grammaticalisation, in the sense of Hopper & Traugott (1993). The Negative Cycle is discussed further in section 3.2.2 where we suggest a structural template in which to view the developments.

3.2.2 The analysis: NegP

Pollock's NegP hypothesis, discussed in chapter 1, section 1.3.1, i.e., the idea that the locus of polarity features is an independent functional projection, provides Jespersen's Negative Cycle with a structure within which to operate. NegP provides two positions, SpecNegP and Neg°, a phrasal position and a head position. This is particularly convenient for an account of Jespersen's typology of sentential negation and the Negative Cycle. Negative markers 'comparatively small in phonetic bulk' identified by Jespersen can quite naturally be analysed as Neg° while 'fuller negatives' can be associated with SpecNegP. The relevant configuration is exemplified for Modern French in (9)¹¹.

¹¹ See also chapter 2.



So, and simplifying grossly, the Negative Cycle can be claimed to amount to cyclic to-ing and fro-ing of the overt realisation of sentential negation between these two positions.

The stage reached by English and illustrated in (3f), in which the independent XP negative marker cliticises onto the verb, can be analysed in interesting ways within the NegP hypothesis. In SE, the relationship between *not* and the verb in (3f) is likely to be purely phonological in nature. In other words, the negative marker is syntactically associated with SpecNegP, but subsequently cliticises onto the auxiliary verb in AgrS^{o12}. In a number of non-standard varieties of English, in contrast, it seems more likely to be the case that the negative marker is associated with a head position in underlying syntax. This distinction between SE and non-standard varieties will be exploited further in sections 3.3.1.2 and 3.3.2.1 below¹³.

This development does not appear to have been reached (yet) by metropolitan French, even in the most informal spoken registers. However, some researchers have suggested that *pas* has been at least partially reanalysed as a head in Québécois. Thus, in parallel to *not* in SE (see footnote 35), in Québécois, *pas* may have the dual status of head and maximal projection. This idea has been put to us by Stefan Frisch (personal communication) and is also considered by Moritz & Valois (1994: 679fn12). Moritz & Valois venture that the status of *pas* in Québécois as a Neg°-associated element rather than a SpecNegP-associated element might form the basis of a principled explanation of the contrast between (10a) and (10b) below:

- (10) a. J'ai pas vu personne (Standard Modern French)
 I have *pas* seen *personne*
 'I-haven't seen no-one.'
 (= 'I have seen someone.')

¹² See Zwicky & Pullum (1983), Haegeman (1995: 189-90, section 1.4.4) and footnote 35 for discussion of *n't*.

¹³ See Zanuttini (1991) and Pollock (1993).

- b. J'ai pas vu personne
 I have *pas* seen *personne*
 'I haven't seen anyone.'
 (= the opposite of (10a))

(Québécois)

Thus, and without going into unnecessary detail at this point, the NC interpretation of (10b) in Québécois is deemed to be possible because *pas* is generated as Neg°. The same interpretation is unavailable in Standard Modern French because *pas* is associated with SpecNegP. We return to the distinction between the standard language and varieties which behave like Québécois in chapter 4, section 4.5.2.1. There, we ultimately reject the proposal that *pas* has grammaticalised as Neg° in the relevant varieties. The fact that *pas* and quantifiers like *personne* could co-occur in earlier stages in the development of the language and be interpreted like the Québécois example in (10b) casts some doubt on the assumption that the interpretation of (10b) is due to the grammaticalisation of *pas*. Otherwise, we would arguably have to conclude that *pas* was associated with Neg° in the classical language, had de-grammaticalised and been analysed as an XP in the modern standard language, only to re-grammaticalise as a head in Québécois. This strikes us as a highly implausible way to account for the data. We therefore reject such an account of interpretations such as (10b). In chapter 4, section 4.5.2, we offer an alternative proposal.

With regard to the grammaticalisation of *pas* as a negative head, similar — and more plausible — claims have been made for the negative marker [pa] found in *some* French-based creoles¹⁴. In all French-based creoles (apart from Réunionnais, according to Corne & Moorghen (1978), cited by Posner (1985a: 182), and according to Battye & Hintze (1992: 325)), [pa] is pre-verbal (along with tense-aspect markers) rather than post-verbal as in both metropolitan French and Québécois (Posner (1985a: 171, 180)), suggesting perhaps that [pa] is a head rather than an XP.

- (11) a. Li *pa* t av ap vīnī
 he NEG PST FUT PROG come
 'He wouldn't be coming.'

(Haitian, D'Ans (1968),
 cited by Posner (1985a: 180))

- b. Nu *pa* ti pu rātre
 we NEG PST PROS go-back
 'We wouldn't have gone back.'

(Mauritian, Green (1988: 450))

As Christopher Lyons has pointed out to us (personal communication), the issue arises as to whether its pre-verbal position is enough for us to conclude that creole [pa]

¹⁴ See the comments made in this connection by Posner (1985a: 172, 180-3).

is a head. An alternative would be to suggest that creole [pa], like French *pas*, occupies the SpecNegP position, and that the verb fails to raise to the left of it, e.g., as witnessed by infinitives in French (see chapter 1, sections 1.2.7.2-1.2.7.4). This theoretical possibility is supported by the fact that, in most creoles, [pa] comes directly between the subject and the tense-aspect markers, as in (11). Indeed, Posner (1985a: 181-2, (18i)/(21ii)) cites just two examples in which [pa] intervenes between a tense-aspect marker and the verb, as in (12a), or between two tense-aspect markers, as in (12b)¹⁵:

- (12) a. Mo te *pa* konē (Louisiana (Saint Martin), Morgan (1959; 1976))
 I PST NEG know
 'I didn't know.'
- b. Mwē te *pa* apre māze (Réunionnais, Corne & Moorghen (1978))
 I PST NEG PROG eat
 'I wasn't eating.'

Nevertheless, in the more familiar Romance varieties, reflexes of the Latin adverb *non* usually intervene between the subject pronoun and any other pronouns present. They do not intervene between object pronouns and the verb. As far as we know, no-one has used this fact to cast doubt on analyses of such elements as realisations of Neg°, i.e., as heads. Returning now to the Negative Cycle, once the negative marker is a syntactically dependent element again, the development has, in some sense, turned full circle.

Numerous suggestions have been made to explain why, in the specific case of French, pre-verbal *ne* came first to be supported by a post-verbal element, and

¹⁵ Of relevance in (mesolectal) Louisiana Creole is the fact that, where Verb Movement can be motivated on the basis of: (a) its morphological make-up; and, (b) its position with respect to VP-adverbs; the verb precedes negative [pa]. Where no Verb Movement can be motivated, the verb follows negative [pa] (Rottet (1992: 268, (16))). Under the null hypothesis that the position of [pa] is the same in both cases, these facts mitigate strongly against analysing [pa] as a functional head such as Neg° since such an analysis would entail at least one instance of long head movement of the verb on its way from V° to whatever functional head it occupies in its pre-[pa] position (T° in Rottet's (1992: 278, (46)) analysis). In addition, the fact that Verb Movement in mesolectal Louisiana Creole is incompatible with overt tense-aspect-mood markers but not with negative [pa] (Rottet (1992: 277)) suggests that [pa] should not be treated in the same way as the overt tense-aspect-mood markers (functional heads). Rottet (1992: 285) therefore concludes that [pa] in mesolectal Louisiana Creole is associated with SpecNegP rather than being generated in Neg°. This is arguably due to decreolisation under strong influence from the acrolectal Cajun French dialect. A similar analysis is plausible of the Réunionnais data, given the extent of decreolisation there too. (Thanks to John Green for discussing the creole data with us.)

subsequently to disappear¹⁶. Most explanations have been phonological in approach, e.g., Ewert (1943: 260). Posner (1985a: 171, 177) suggests that changes in stress patterns, namely the transition, possibly in the fourteenth century, from word stress to breath group stress, would favour a shift in emphatic stress towards the end of the breath group. Consequently, pre-verbal unstressed elements – including *ne* – would be slurred, while post-verbal *pas*, etc., would often receive emphatic stress. It is also possible that more strictly syntactic issues are involved. Harris (1978: 118) suggests that the fate of *ne* could have been sealed by the fact that its position between subject clitics and object clitics hindered incorporation of the former with the latter (and the verb). Parry (forthcoming) also links the loss of the pre-verbal negative marker with the accumulation of argument clitics in pre-verbal position¹⁷.

Whatever the real cause of the Negative Cycle, the label ‘cycle’ is clearly not a misnomer: once the syntactically independent negative marker has been grammaticalised as a functional head, the language is back where it started and the cycle can be repeated. Jespersen’s Negative Cycle can therefore be reduced to fluctuation between marking sentential negation as an overt syntactically dependent constituent and as a syntactically independent constituent, with one intermediate stage in which sentential negation is bipartite and another in which the negative marker has an ambivalent status:

(13) *The Negative Cycle:*

- a. Neg°
- b. Neg° (+ XP)
- c. Neg° + XP
- d. (Neg°) + XP
- e. XP
- f. [_{Neg°} XP]

3.2.3 Extensions: a prelude to an abstract Negative Cycle?

Given the availability within NegP of two positions of clearly different syntactic types, one head and one specifier, and mechanisms such as H&Z’s (1991) Neg Criterion (chapter 1, section 1.4) and Dynamic Agreement (henceforth, DA) (chapter 1, section 1.3.4) to regulate the behaviour of affective elements, there are, in principle at least, two potential

¹⁶ For further discussion of the development of sentential negation in French, see chapter 4, section 4.4.2.

¹⁷ Posner (1985a) examines the factors which might have conditioned the change in French from pre-verbal to post-verbal negation by comparing French and a number of other cognate languages (which have post-verbal negation) on the one hand with the majority group of Romance languages (which have pre-verbal negation) on the other.

positions with which an affective feature such as [+NEG] can be associated (underlyingly, at least). In addition, there is the possibility that [+NEG] is associated with both positions. The empirical basis of Jespersen's Negative Cycle certainly suggests that the overt *morpho-phonological* locus of sentential negation can shift cyclically between SpecNegP and Neg°, with an intermediate stage at which both positions are associated with phonological material or at which the overt negative marker has an ambivalent status. Under the assumption that sentential negation is always marked by an abstract *syntactico-semantic* feature [+NEG], there is, we would suggest, no *a priori* reason to assume that the locus of this abstract feature cannot fluctuate cyclically in the same way as the overt marker of negation, at least underlyingly, and perhaps superficially too. This possibility will be pursued and elaborated upon in section 3.4 and will prove to be central to the proposed account of NC, to which we now turn our attention.

3.3 NC and Jespersen's Generalisation

Languages vary with respect to whether or not they allow multiple apparently inherently negative constituents to appear, say, within the same clause without cancelling each other out. Van der Wouden (1994: 95) distinguishes between two phenomena which he labels 'negative spread' and 'negative doubling'¹⁸. Negative doubling is illustrated in (14a) and (15a) in the NC languages Spanish and Italian respectively¹⁹. Here, a negative XP, i.e.,

¹⁸ The term 'negative doubling' is also used in this way by Rizzi (e.g., 1982: 121). In early work, Labov (1972b) analyses NC in non-standard varieties of English as a process whereby the feature [NEG] is copied from the verb onto an indefinite.

¹⁹ It is only partially the case that Italian and Spanish show negative doubling. This is only generally so in the absence of pre-verbal negative XPs, as in text examples (14a) and (15a). In contrast, with a negative (subject) XP in pre-verbal position, negative doubling is excluded:

- (i) a. Nessuno (★*non*) ha telefonato (Italian)
no-one *non* has phoned
'No-one phoned.'
- b. Nadie (★*no*) hará eso (Spanish, Suñer (1993: 3))
no-one *no* do-FUT that
'No-one will do that.'

This contrasts with Serbian/Croatian, e.g., text example (23b), and a number of other Romance varieties, e.g., Romanian and Ladin (a Rhaeto-Romansch variety spoken in Engadine, Switzerland):

- (ii) a. Nimeni *nu* îmi spune niciodată nimic (Romanian, Baciuc
no-one *nu* to-me says never nothing (1978: 74), cited in
'No-one ever tells me anything.' Muller (1991: 305fn2))

nadie/nessuno 'no-one', appears together with – 'doubled' by – the regular pre-verbal negative marker, namely *no/non*. (14b) and (15b) illustrate negative spread, whereby multiple negative XPs co-occur. (14c) and (15c) show negative spread and negative doubling occurring simultaneously.

- (14) a. *No conozco a nadie* (Spanish)
 no know-1SG no-one
 'I don't know anyone.'

- b. *Nadie me ha dado nada*
 no-one me has given nothing
 'No-one has given me anything.'

- c. *No doy nada a nadie*
 no give-1SG nothing to no-one
 'I'm not giving anything to anyone.'

- (15) a. *Mario non ha visto nessuno* (Italian)
 M. non has seen no-one
 'M. hasn't seen anyone.'

- b. *Nessuno ha fatto niente*
 no-one has done nothing
 'No-one did anything.'

- c. *Gianni non dice niente a nessuno*
 G. non says nothing to no-one
 'G. doesn't say anything to anyone.'

The crucial property of all the examples in (14) and (15) is that, although all the italicised constituents (the regular negative marker and the negative XPs) are arguably

-
- b. *Alura üngün nu so nouvas d' ünguotta* (Ladin, Scheitlin
 so no-one nu knows news of no-one (1962/72: 74, 97),
 'So, no-one has any news about anyone.' cited in Muller (1991: 301))

In the case of Ladin, Posner (1984: 13) tentatively attributes co-occurrence of the pre-verbal negative XP and the negative marker to Slavonic influence.

Where a *non-subject* appears pre-verbally in Italian, the possibility of negative doubling appears to be subject to speaker and register variation (Acquaviva (1994); Haegeman (1995: 196)):

- (iii) *A nessuno Gianni (★??non) telefona* (Haegeman (1995: 196, (43c)))
 to no-one G. non telephones
 'G. doesn't call anyone.'

In similar configurations in Spanish, negative doubling is not attested:

- (iv) *A ninguna de ellos (★no) llamaría yo* (Suñer (1993: 3))
 to none of them no call-COND I
 'I wouldn't call any of them.'

morphologically negative²⁰, each sentence is interpreted as a single instance of sentential negation. They are not interpreted as containing multiple instances of logical negation. Spanish and Italian are NC languages.

Languages which do not allow *multiple* occurrences of negative constituents to be interpreted as a *single* instance of sentential negation are termed non-NC languages. In these languages, where two negatives co-occur, the first negation takes scope over, and cancels, the second. Examples are SE and German:

- (16) a. I've (★*not*) seen *no-one* (SE)
 b. I've %(★*not*) given *nothing* to *no-one*

- (17) a. Hans sieht *niemanden* (★*nicht*) (German)
 H. sees no-one not
 'H. can't see anyone.'
 b. Ich bin mit *niemandem nirgendwohin* %(★*nicht*) gefahren
 I am with no-one nowhere not travelled
 'I didn't drive anywhere with anyone.'

The SE examples in (16) show that one or more negative XPs cannot co-occur with the verbal marker of negation *not* (and receive the relevant NC interpretation). SE does not, therefore, demonstrate negative doubling. With respect to negative spread, the issue of whether *multiple* negative XPs can co-occur is unclear. Some speakers as well as prescriptivists reject (16b) without *not*; others do not. Dialectal variation seems to be at play. Clearly, though, negative spread needs to be distinguished from negative doubling. The judgements in (17) suggest that German patterns essentially with SE in this respect.

Ascertaining whether the Negative Cycle is relevant to NC amounts to establishing whether or not there is a correlation between: (a) whether a language is an NC language or not; and, (b) where it stands in the Negative Cycle. Such a correlation would suggest that one was determined by the other, presumably that where a language stands in the Negative Cycle determines whether or not it is an NC language. Jespersen (1924: 333) suggests that there is such a correlation:

- (18) There is one very important observation to be made, without which I do not think that we shall be able to understand the matter, namely that repeated

²⁰ Etymologically, Spanish *n*-words are not negative (Laka (1993a)). For contemporary speakers, however, one could plausibly assume that these elements are analysed as being inherently (morphologically) negative. The situation in Italian is different; for Acquaviva (1995: 14fn3), *nessuno*, for example, is derived from the Vulgar Latin *ne-ipsu-unu* (not-even-one), in other words etymologically negative.

negation [i.e., NC] becomes an habitual phenomenon in those languages only in which the ordinary negative element is comparatively small in phonetic bulk [...]. If this repetition is rarer in modern English and German than it was formerly, one of the reasons probably is that the fuller negative *not* and *nicht* have taken the place of the smaller *ne* and *en*.

Following our analysis of the Negative Cycle within the framework of the NegP hypothesis in section 3.2.2, we shall assume that Jespersen's observation amounts to what we referred to as *Jespersen's Generalisation* in (2)²¹, repeated below for convenience:

(2) *Jespersen's Generalisation*:

A language is an NC language iff the regular marker of pure sentential negation is not associated with SpecNegP²².

In the rest of this section, we present data from a number of languages suggesting that the observation expressed in (18) and (2) is valid.

3.3.1 NC and non-negative SpecNegP

In this section, we provide cross-linguistic data to show that NC is a characteristic of languages for which there is no reason to believe that SpecNegP bears the feature [+NEG]²³, i.e., languages in which sentential negation is marked essentially in association with a syntactic head. The languages which follow this pattern include Serbian/Croatian, certain non-standard varieties of English and, as indicated in the previous section, Italian and Spanish. In addition to those languages already discussed here, Zanuttini (1991: 149, 161) gives data which show that Middle High German, Middle Dutch, Portuguese and

²¹ Note the following observation made by Acquaviva (1993: 60-1):

- (i) We can now formally characterize the difference between the English and the Romance (and non-standard English) operators: only [in] the latter are specifiers of heads endowed with the morphological negative feature.

Our analysis of *Jespersen's Generalisation* differs in crucial ways from Acquaviva's which will be discussed in section 3.5 below.

²² Note that our interpretation of Jespersen's observation is slightly different from the one tentatively proposed by Haegeman (1995: 165). In the context of Jespersen's observation, Haegeman suggests that NC may be determined by the availability of an overt negative head. For us, in contrast, NC correlates with the *absence* of a negative operator in SpecNegP. Assuming that the characterisation of the data in sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2 above is correct and that languages can indeed mark sentential negation by overt material associated with both SpecNegP and Neg°, the difference between Haegeman's and our own (re-)interpretation of Jespersen's observation is not a trivial one.

²³ The consequences of the spec-head agreement mechanism inherent in the Neg Criterion notwithstanding which will, in any case, be discussed in section 3.4.2 below.

Catalan all fit into this category; Jamal Ouhalla informs us that Berber and Turkish belong here too. Parry (forthcoming) says that all modern dialects of Italy whose negative marker would be analysed as a realisation of Neg° are NC languages.

3.3.1.1 Serbian/Croatian

In Serbian/Croatian (henceforth, SC), pure sentential negation is realised as a negative particle, *ne* (Neg°), proclitic on the first finite verb form (Progovac (1994: 34-5)):

- (19) Milan poznaje Marij-u (SC)
 Mi. knows Ma.- ACC
 'Mi. knows Ma.'
- (20) Milan *ne* poznaje Marij-u
 'Mi. doesn't know Ma.'
- (21) ★Milan poznaje *ne* Marij-u

No other overt negative marker is required; *ne* cannot be omitted from negative clauses (Progovac (1994: 36)). We conclude, therefore, that Neg° bears the feature [+NEG] rather than SpecNegP. If the generalisation in (2) is correct, we predict that SC is an NC language.

SC has two series of what Progovac (1994; etc.) terms NPIs, labelled *i*-NPIs and *ni*-NPIs to reflect the fact that members of one set begin with the prefix *i*- while members of the other begin with the prefix *ni*-. Progovac glosses the *i*-NPIs and *ni*-NPIs as *anyone*, *anything*, etc., and *no-one*, *nothing*, etc., respectively, but stresses (Progovac (1994: 40, 42)) that the distribution of these elements is by no means identical to that of the two series of indefinites in SE. A couple of comments are in order at this point. First, the fact that the distribution of the *i*- and *ni*-NPIs in SC is different from the distribution of the *any*- and *no*-XPs respectively in SE does not *necessarily* mean that the *i*-NPIs differ from the *any*-XPs or that the *ni*-NPIs differ from the *no*-XPs in respect of any non-trivial properties. It is entirely possible that the corresponding XPs in the two languages are essentially identical and that their divergent distributions are the result of differences elsewhere in the grammars of their respective languages. Indeed, this is what we shall conclude below²⁴.

²⁴ Our view here contrasts sharply with that expressed in Acquaviva (1995) who seems to follow Progovac's line. In his account of NC, Acquaviva concludes that the relevant distinction between NC languages and non-NC languages concerns the properties of negative quantifiers. Thus, for Acquaviva, the fact that Italian is NC while SE is not is a

Second, a word is perhaps in order on the issue of Progovac's use of the term NPI for the *ni*-prefixed series of XPs in SC. One might wonder whether the *ni*-XPs of SC (or indeed the *no*-XPs of SE or the n-words of various Romance varieties) are NPIs at all. These elements are more usually labelled negative indefinite universal quantifiers (with no particular licensing conditions) rather than polarity items (with specific – albeit complex – licensing conditions). However, there is some reason to suspect that even negative quantifiers have licensing conditions and that, consequently, the term NPI may not be misplaced²⁵. There is, for example, evidence that the presence of negative quantifiers has consequences – albeit sometimes non-overt – elsewhere in their clauses. In SC, for example, *ni*-NPIs necessarily co-occur with the pre-verbal negative marker *ne*. The presence of *ne* clearly satisfies some licensing condition of the *ni*-NPIs in much the same way that c-commanding negation is one way of licensing *any*-XPs in SE which are labelled NPIs without hesitation. Similar conditions can be argued to apply to negative quantifiers in other languages. Even in a language like SE, the presence of a negative quantifier can affect clausal polarity, even though this has no overt impact on verb morphology. For example, when familiar tests are performed on (22a) to determine the polarity of the sentence, they show it to be potentially negative (cf. (22b/c))²⁶:

- (22) a. John's done nothing
 b. John's done nothing and neither/?so has Mary
 c. John's done nothing, has he/?hasn't he?

We therefore conclude that negative quantifiers (with sentential scope) such as *ni*-NPIs (SC), *no*-XPs (SE) and n-words (Romance) are indeed polarity items in the sense that their occurrence is subject to licensing conditions²⁷. In this respect, we differ from Rowlett

consequence of the difference between, say, *nessuno* and *no-one*. Our feeling is that this approach is counter-intuitive for a number of reasons. First, it ignores *Jespersen's Generalisation* entirely. Second, it leads to the conclusion that, for example, *nothing*, *no-one*, etc., are fundamentally different in (non-NC) SE and (NC) non-standard varieties of English.

²⁵ See also Rizzi (1982: 121-7, section 2) for relevant discussion.

²⁶ We assume with Haegeman (1995) that, where the negative tag is licit in (22c), i.e., where the antecedent is positive, the negative quantifier has local scope, does not count as an operator and is not associated with a NegP. On tags, see Lakoff (1969) and chapter 1, section 1.4.

²⁷ See Quer (1993) for review and discussion of approaches to the licensing of negative quantifiers.

(1994c: 10fn11), and are therefore happy to retain the term *ni*-NPI used for SC by Progovac, and to adopt the term *no*-NPI for SE for consistency²⁸. We now return to the discussion of SC negation.

The most salient characteristic of the *ni*-NPIs in SC is that, irrespective of their position, they must, as mentioned above, be clause-mate with the pre-verbal negative marker *ne* (Progovac (1994: 37, (98))):

- (23) a. Mario ★(*ne*) vidi *ni(t)ko-ga*²⁹ (SC)
 M. *ne* sees no-one-ACC
 'M. can't see anyone.'
- b. *Ni(t)ko* ★(*ne*) poznaje Marij-u
 no-one *ne* knows M.- ACC
 'No-one knows M.'

Furthermore, multiple *ni*-NPIs can co-occur in a given clause without leading to logical DN, provided, of course, that pre-verbal *ne* is also present in the same clause (Ljiljana Progovac, personal communication).

- (24) Milan ★(*ne*) daje *ni(t)kome ništa* (SC)
 M. *ne* gives no-one nothing
 'M. isn't giving anything to anyone.'

The examples in (23a/b) show negative doubling; the one in (24) shows both negative spread and negative doubling (van der Wouden (1994)). SC is clearly an NC language, as predicted by the generalisation in (2).

3.3.1.2 Non-standard English

In this section, we use Cockney as a representative of a certain class of non-standard varieties of English³⁰. In Cockney, pure sentential negation is always realised as the contracted *n't* rather than *not*, even if the use of *not* allows contraction elsewhere:

- (25) a. ('E) ain't comin' (Cockney)

²⁸ Within the terms of his analysis, Acquaviva (1993: 24) suggests that those elements often referred to as negative quantifiers 'are closer to polarity items than to *wh*-operators'.

²⁹ *Niko* is Serbian; *nitko* is Croatian. The judgements in the text examples apply to both Serbian and Croatian.

³⁰ Thanks to Joseph Cunningham for judgements on Cockney. See Labov (1972a/b) for discussion of other NSEs which demonstrate NC.

b. ★E's *not* comin'

We shall take this contrast to be suggestive evidence that, in Cockney, the [+NEG] feature is associated with a head rather than SpecNegP. We might assume, for example, that the morpheme *n't* is generated as Neg° and that it raises to the finite verb in AgrS°. An alternative analysis would be to assume that the negative auxiliaries of Cockney, etc., namely *ain't*, *can't*, *won't*, *don't*, are drawn directly from the lexicon as inherently negative auxiliaries rather than polarity-neutral auxiliaries which are associated with a negative morpheme in the syntax. Such a view is supported by the fact that at least two of these negative auxiliaries, *ain't* and *don't*, do not show overt person and number agreement (cf. SE *isn't* vs. *aren't* and *don't* vs. *doesn't*). The important point is that, in Cockney, the negative feature is associated with a syntactic head underlyingly; in SE, in contrast, it is associated with an XP specifier position.

If we are right in concluding that, in Cockney, the feature [+NEG] is borne by a syntactic head, Cockney matches SC. The generalisation in (2) then predicts that Cockney is an NC language³¹. This prediction is borne out by the facts: Cockney has negative doubling with *n't* (but not with *not*³²), as in (26), as well as negative spread, as in (27):

- (26) a. I *ain't* done *nothin'* (Cockney)
 b. ★I've *not* done *nothin'*
- (27) *No-one ain't* done *nothin'*

It could be objected at this point that the data in (26) and (27) do not represent NC at all; rather, it could be concluded that, in varieties of NSE such as Cockney, *nothin'*, *no-one*, etc., are negative polarity items à la SE *anything*, *anyone*, etc., i.e., not inherently negative. This is, however, unlikely. If NSE *no*-NPIs were equivalent to SE *any*-NPIs, we would expect the two series to have parallel distributions. However, the parallel

³¹ Note that the approach adopted here to the distinction between the non-NC SE and non-standard NC varieties such as Cockney and the variety of Belfast English described by Henry (1995) and referred to in footnote 32 assumes that the crucial difference lies at the level of the phrase structure of the clause. This is in sharp contrast to the approach adopted by Acquaviva (1995) who assumes that the crucial difference between NC and non-NC languages is to be found in the (operator-binding) properties of negative quantifiers. See footnote 24.

³² Henry (1995) describes another NSE, namely a variety of Belfast English, in which NC is possible with *n't* but not *not*. Compare (i) with (ii) (Henry's (35) and (36)):

- (i) We aren't going nowhere
 (ii) ★We're not going nowhere

between the behaviour of NSE *no*-NPIs and SE *any*-NPIs is not complete. Unlike the *any*-NPIs of SE, the concordant readings of *no*-NPIs in NSE are only possible in the presence of *sentential negation*, either in the same clause or in a higher clause³³. *No*-NPIs cannot appear in *non-negative* polarity contexts in Cockney/NSE, whereas SE *any*-NPIs can (Ladusaw (1992))³⁴:

(28) NSE:

- | | |
|--|-------------------------|
| a. If you see <i>anyone</i> /★ <i>no-one</i> , let me know | (Conditional) |
| b. I doubt <i>anyone</i> /★ <i>no-one</i> will come | (Adversative predicate) |
| c. Do you want <i>anythin'</i> /★ <i>nothin'</i> ? | (Interrogative) |

In NSE, then, the behaviour of *no*-NPIs is strikingly similar to that of *ni*-NPIs in SC, which are also ungrammatical in non-negative polarity contexts (Progovac (1994)) and clearly inherently negative. In conclusion, then, NSE *no*-NPIs are indeed inherently negative; hence, NSE demonstrates NC, as predicted by (2) given that SpecNegP does not bear the feature [+NEG].

3.3.1.3 Italian and Spanish

Data from Italian and Spanish to show that these languages fit the generalisation in (2) have already been given. The data in (5) above suggest that [+NEG] is borne by Neg° rather than SpecNegP. Pure sentential negation in Italian and Spanish is marked by the pre-verbal negative particles *non* and *no* respectively, which, like SC *ne*, are proclitic on the first finite verb. Following the discussion in chapter 1, section 1.3.1, we assume these elements are syntactic heads, heading NegP. More significantly, these negative markers are sufficient to mark pure sentential negation. Furthermore, the data in (14) and (15) above show that Italian and Spanish are both NC languages, as predicted by the generalisation in (2).

3.3.2 DN and negative SpecNegP

In this section, we provide data from languages to show that NC is generally *impossible* if SpecNegP bears the feature [+NEG]. In such languages, such as SE and Standard

³³ In this respect, Cockney differs from SC. In the former, the verbal negative marker is not obliged to appear in the same minimal clause as the *no*-NPIs. In the latter, it is. This may be related to the fact that, in English (and Cockney), and in contrast to SC, for example, the verbal negative marker is only compatible with finite verb forms.

³⁴ Alison Henry (personal communication) informs us that the strings in (28) are also ungrammatical in the variety of Belfast English discussed in footnote 32.

Modern German and Dutch, where inherently negative items co-occur, their negative features cancel each other out, as in logical DN. Comments by Muller (1991: 304) suggest that Sursilvan, spoken in the Swiss canton of Graubünden/Grisons, belongs in this category too; in Sursilvan, negative quantifiers cannot co-occur with the verbal negative marker without producing DN.

3.3.2.1 *Standard English*

In SE, sentential negation can be marked either by *not*³⁵ or *n't*:

- (29) a. I do *not* like Vodka
b. I *don't* like Vodka

Most recent work on negation in SE, e.g., Haegeman (1995: 190), has concluded that *not* is generated in SpecNegP³⁶ while *n't* is generated as Neg°. (Like French *pas*, English *not* used to co-occur with a clitic *ne*.) If this is true, it would be natural to claim that *n't* is the grammaticalised equivalent of *not*³⁷. While we accept the 'standard' assumption that *not* is associated with SpecNegP at S-structure if not before, we doubt the validity of the claim that, in SE, *n't* is associated with Neg°. It seems more likely that *n't* is nothing more than a phonologically cliticised version of *not* and that, in all relevant respects, *n't* is associated with SpecNegP exactly like *not*. (See also the suggestion by Jean-Yves Pollock reported by Zribi-Hertz (1994: 464fn17) that weakening of *not* to *n't* preceded reanalysis of the item as a head.) We conclude, therefore, that, in SE, SpecNegP bears

³⁵ The syntactic status of *not* is not entirely clear. See the discussion of the Negative Cycle in English in section 3.2 and footnote 12. We have assumed that SE *n't* is a phonologically cliticised form of *not*. It seems to be the case that *not* can sometimes cliticise without phonological reduction. Witness the grammaticality of (i), in part taken from Quirk *et al.* (1985: 809), cited by Haegeman (1995: 306fn17, (i)):

- (i) a. Has not John been there too?
b. Is not history a social science?
c. Does not everything we see about us testify to the power of Divine Providence?

Here, *both* the auxiliary *and* the negation occupy a position to the left of the subject. Assuming an analysis in terms of AgrS°-to-C° movement to be along the right lines, the auxiliary and the negative must first have formed a complex head, implying in turn that *not* is itself part of AgrS°. See Williams (1994a/b) for a different view of the syntax of *not*.

³⁶ We shall not address the issue of whether *not* should be deemed to be generated in an adverbial position and subsequently raised into SpecNegP in parallel to our proposals for *pas* in chapter 2.

³⁷ See footnote 12.

the feature [+NEG]³⁸. *Jespersen's Generalisation* in (2) predicts that SE should not be an NC language.

With respect to NPIs in SE, the 'equivalent'³⁹ of the SC *ni*-NPIs, i.e., the *no*-NPIs, cannot co-occur with either *not* or *n't* and receive an NC reading:

- (30) a. [*]Michael can *not* see *no-one* (DN)
 b. [*]Michael can't see *nothing*

Not surprisingly, multiple instances of *no*-NPIs together with *not/n't* are also illicit:

- (31) a. ★I did *not* give *nothing* to *no-one*
 b. ★I didn't give *nothing* to *no-one*

In conclusion, in SE negative sentences, the feature [+NEG] is borne by SpecNegP and SE is clearly a non-NC language, as predicted by (2).

3.3.2.2 German

As shown by the examples in (17), repeated below for convenience, German is a non-NC language.

- (17) a. Hans sieht (★*nicht*) *niemanden* (German)
 H. sees not no-one
 'H. can't see anyone.'
 b. Ich bin %(★*nicht*) mit *niemandem nirgendwohin* gefahren
 I am not with no-one nowhere travelled
 'I didn't drive anywhere with anyone.'

The same judgements apply to Standard Modern Dutch. Both results are predicted by the fact that the principal negative markers in these two languages, *nicht* and *niet* respectively, are associated with SpecNegP rather than Neg°.

3.3.3 Conclusion

The comparison between the two types of language reviewed in the above two sections is illustrated in the table in (32):

³⁸ Zwicky & Pullum (1983) claim that *n't* is in fact a (morphological) inflectional affix rather than a (syntactic) clitic.

³⁹ With respect to the issue of whether *no*-NPIs in English and *ni*-NPIs in SC are equivalents, see Progovac (1994: 40, 42) and the discussion in section 3.3.1.1 above.

(32)

Language	SpecNegP = [+NEG]?	NC?
Sursilvan/Modern German/ Modern Dutch/SE, etc.	Yes	No
SC/Cockney/Spanish/Italian/ MH German/Middle Dutch/ Portuguese/Romanian/ Catalan/Berber, etc.	No	Yes

On the basis of the languages reviewed here, it would seem that the observation made by Jespersen (1924) in (18) and formalised as (2) is quite sturdy. In the next sections, we turn our attention to providing an analysis of *Jespersen's Generalisation*. This will involve evaluating and suggesting modifications to analyses of NPI licensing in negative contexts which have appeared in the literature (section 3.5). In order to understand the background to those proposals and, more specifically, the modifications proposed, it will first be necessary to reconsider Neg Criterion, the wellformedness condition on the distribution and interpretation of negative constituents with sentential scope proposed by H&Z (1991: 244, (27)), and discussed in chapter 1, section 1.4 and at various points in chapter 2.

3.4 The Neg Criterion revisited

As discussed in chapter 1, section 1.4, H&Z (1991) have argued that the familiar similarities between the properties of interrogative and negative constructions warrant the Neg Criterion in (33), alongside the *wh*-criterion in (34), after May (1985: 17) and Rizzi (1995):

(33) *The Neg Criterion:*

- a. Each Neg X° must be in a spec-head relationship with a Neg operator;
- b. Each Neg operator must be in a spec-head relationship with a Neg X° .

(34) *The wh-criterion:*

- a. Each *wh*- X° must be in a spec-head relationship with a *wh*-operator;
- b. Each *wh*-operator must be in a spec-head relationship with a *wh*- X° .

Indeed, the two criteria in (33) and (34) are seen as instantiations of a more general wellformedness condition on the distribution and interpretation of affective elements (with

sentential scope), namely the AFFECT criterion⁴⁰:

(35) *The AFFECT criterion:*

- a. Each AFFECTIVE X° must be in a spec-head relationship with a AFFECTIVE operator;
- b. Each AFFECTIVE operator must be in a spec-head relationship with an AFFECTIVE X° .

Each clause of these criteria arguably has two requirements:

- (36) a. the first obliges a head and an operator of a specific type to be in a spec-head configuration;
- b. the second says that the head and operator must 'agree' with each other with respect to the relevant AFFECTIVE features.

These two requirements are discussed in the following two sections.

3.4.1 The configuration

According to (36a), Jespersen's Negative Cycle is nothing more than a superficial epiphenomenon: assuming NegP as the locus of clausal polarity, the Neg Criterion forces us to postulate the presence in negative clauses of a [+NEG] head *and* a [+NEG] operator (in abstract syntactic terms at least), irrespective of where the language stands in the Negative Cycle, i.e., irrespective of how a language overtly marks negation.

So, where a variety overtly marks negation with a head element alone (e.g., Italian [_{Neg^o} non]), the Neg Criterion obliges us to posit the presence of an abstract negative operator which will appear in a spec-head configuration with that head (or its trace). In support of such a requirement, Rizzi (1990) provides evidence for postulating the presence of an operator in SpecNegP in Italian by showing that negative sentences exhibit inner island effects. Consider the minimally contrasting pair in (37):

- (37) a. Perché_{1/2} hai detto [_{t₁}] che Gianni è partito [_{t₂}] ? (Italian)
 why have-2PL said that G. is left
 'Why did you say that G. left?'

⁴⁰ Haegeman (1995: 94) suggests that the AFFECT criterion in its various manifestations can be subsumed under the more general Checking requirements of Chomsky's (1993; 1995a/b) Minimalist Program. See chapter 1, sections 1.2.1 and 1.2.5, for example, for a discussion of Verb Movement in terms of Checking. Under a Checking approach, affective items would be deemed to have morphological features which need to be checked against the features of functional heads within a spec-head configuration. See chapter 2, footnote 5.

- b. *Perché*_{1/2} *non* hai detto [*t*₁] che Gianni è partito [*t*₂] ?
 why non have-2PL said that G. is left
 'Why didn't you say that G. left?'

In (37a), the adverb *perché* 'why' can be construed either with a trace adjoined to the matrix AgrSP, [*t*₁], or one adjoined to the embedded AgrSP, [*t*₂]: the string can be interpreted as a question about saying or a question about leaving. In (37b), which differs from (37a) only with respect to the presence of sentential negation in the matrix clause, realised as [_{Neg} *non*], the second of these readings disappears. (37b) can only be a question about saying. In Rizzi's analysis, the unavailability of the long-distance construal of *perché* can be attributed to the presence of a non-overt operator in the matrix clause which counts as a potential A'-antecedent intervening between the surface position of *perché* and a trace adjoined to the embedded AgrSP. No such potential antecedent intervenes between *perché* and the higher trace [*t*₁]. Long construal of *perché* thus violates Relativised Minimality⁴¹. Without postulating the presence of an abstract operator in SpecNegP in the matrix clause in (37b), the unavailability of long construal of *perché* would remain unexplained⁴².

Conversely, where the overt negative marker is an XP (e.g., SE [_{SpecNegP} *not*]), the Neg Criterion obliges us to posit the presence of an abstract negative head. The following contrast provides evidence for the presence of an abstract Neg° in SE:

⁴¹ The following definitions are based on Rizzi (1990: 6-7): Relativised Minimality:

A antecedent-governs B only if there is no C such that:

- (i) C is a typical potential antecedent-governor for B;
- (ii) C c-commands B and does not c-command A:
 Antecedent-government: A antecedent-governs B iff
 - (i) A and B are co-indexed;
 - (ii) A c-commands B;
 - (iii) no barrier intervenes;
 - (iv) Relativised Minimality is respected.

⁴² Den Besten (1989), among others, notes another empirical phenomenon which lends itself to an explanation on the basis of the requirement, expressed in the AFFECT criterion, that affective heads be in a spec-head configuration with an operator. Den Besten notes that embedded V°-to-I°-to-C° movement creates islands for extraction in a way that embedded simple V°-to-I° movement does not. Under the assumptions: (a) that extraction out of CP uses SpecCP as an intermediate landing site; and, (b) that I°-to-C° movement is triggered by the abstract properties of C°, i.e., the fact that C° bears (affective) features; the island effects can be readily accounted for by assuming that the AFFECT criterion obliges C° to be in spec-head configuration with an affective operator in SpecCP, preventing extraction from CP from using this position as an appropriate intermediate landing site.

- (38) a. John likes chocolate
 b. ★John (not) likes (not) chocolate

Within the Checking Theory of morphological features of Chomsky (1993), the finite verb in (38a) is inserted into the derivation fully inflected. Its morphological features are checked by post-Spell-out head-to-head movement to the highest inflectional head, AgrS°. This is not possible in (38b). If *not* is analysed as the specifier of a syntactically inert head or as an adjunct, there is no immediate way of accounting for the fact that the verb cannot be tensed **and** co-occur with sentential negation. If, on the other hand, *not* is analysed as an affective operator necessarily – given the Neg Criterion – co-occurring with an abstract head, the ungrammaticality of (38b) can be accounted for by arguing that, in SE, the abstract Neg head has the property of blocking post-Spell-out movement of the verb to check its inflectional features. As a last resort option, ‘dummy *do*’ is used.

Finally, in languages with bipartite pure sentential negation, i.e., which overtly realise both a negative head and a negative operator, e.g., Standard French, (4c), Taqbaylit, (6), Burmese, (7), and Standard Breton, (8a), the Neg Criterion is satisfied in association with two overt constituents⁴³.

In conclusion, then, irrespective of the typological nature of the overt negative marker(s), we posit that negative clauses are characterised by the presence of a (negative) head and a (negative) operator, both of which are syntactically active. Consequently, we accept the configuration requirement in the Neg Criterion.

3.4.2 The agreement

Turning now to (36b), the spec-head configuration required by the Neg Criterion has generally been interpreted as entailing ‘agreement’. Following Chomsky (1986b: 24), it is often assumed that spec-head agreement amounts to the matching of relevant features. Where both specifier and head bear matching features by virtue of their lexical properties, spec-head agreement can be seen as a ‘static’ checking mechanism. However, where the features are borne by the specifier but not by the head, the features are assumed to be transmitted to the head by DA, schematised for the specific affective context of interrogation in (39):

⁴³ See chapter 2 for an analysis of how pure sentential negation in Standard French satisfies the Neg Criterion.

$$\begin{array}{ccccc} \text{Op} & X & \Rightarrow & \text{Op} & X \\ \text{WH} & & & \text{WH} & \text{WH} \end{array}$$

Thus, the spec-head agreement which guarantees that verbs agree with subjects has been assumed to amount to ϕ -feature sharing, whereby the relevant features of the head are obliged to match those of the specifier. Within the context of negation, in Standard French, following the discussion in chapters 1 and 2, we assume that *pas* bears the feature [+NEG] inherently, and that this feature is transmitted to *ne* by DA⁴⁴.

If the spec-head relationship is seen in such terms of strict agreement, then the type of 'abstract' Negative Cycle discussed in section 3.2.2, whereby the locus of the abstract feature [+NEG] fluctuates between Neg° and SpecNegP in the same way as the overt marker of negation, becomes unacceptable. Under this 'strong' interpretation of spec-head agreement, the Neg Criterion obliges *both* Neg° and SpecNegP to bear the same feature: [+NEG]. It might be possible for one to bear a given feature underlyingly and for that feature to be shared with the other by DA in time for the Neg Criterion to come along and check that all is in order. Nevertheless, given that this must happen by LF at the latest, it will always be the case that, at the level at which scopal relations are relevant, both Neg° and SpecNegP always bear the same features, and no cross-linguistic or diachronic variation will be possible. Accordingly, if this interpretation of spec-head agreement is adopted, it will not be possible to relate NC to the Negative Cycle.

The 'strong' interpretation of spec-head agreement is, however, not the only one available. We shall, in the course of the following discussion, argue that 'strong' spec-head agreement is, in fact, too strong. Instead, we shall claim that, assuming that specifier and head are of the suitable type (guaranteed by (36a)), spec-head agreement is more likely to be spec-head *anti-disagreement* guaranteeing feature compatibility. As we shall see, this 'weak' interpretation of spec-head agreement will be crucial for our purposes. Instead of obliging *both* specifier *and* head to bear the feature [+NEG]⁴⁵, the Neg Criterion in (33) would only oblige them *not* to be incompatible with respect to the feature [\pm NEG]. So, as long as one is not specified [+NEG] while the other is specified [-NEG], for example, the Neg Criterion will not be violated. Consequently, in a configuration in which the head

⁴⁴ Note, however, that Acquaviva (1993: 9-10) believes there is a 'sharp difference' between the nature of spec-head agreement involved in sharing ϕ -features and the nature of spec-head agreement sharing operator features.

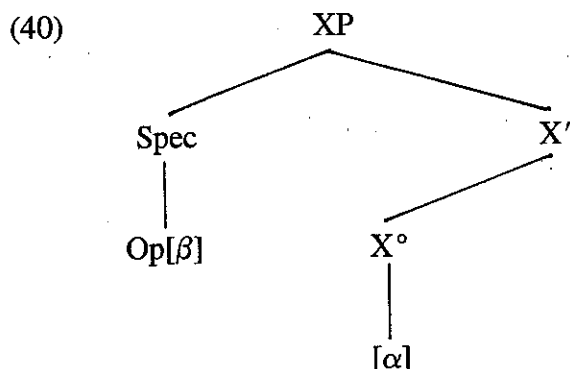
⁴⁵ Possibly a principle of economy would mitigate against doubly specifying a clause for the [+NEG] feature, underlyingly at least.

bears the feature [+NEG] while the operator in specifier position does not (but isn't marked [-NEG] either), or *vice versa*⁴⁶, the Neg Criterion will not be violated. Further, the type of 'abstract' Negative Cycle referred to in section 3.2.3 would be possible⁴⁷.

For example, in a structure such as (40) below, if X° bears the set of affective features, α , while the operator in SpecXP bears the affective features, β , where β is a proper subset of α , the affect criterion will be satisfied since SpecXP is not incompatible with X° even though there is not full agreement. In contrast, if α were a proper subset of β , DA would transmit the 'extra' features from SpecXP to X° .

⁴⁶ This '*vice versa*' is debatable. Given that the nature of a maximal projection is traditionally seen as being determined first and foremost by the features of its head, one might object to the implicit suggestion in the text that the head of a NegP might not bear the feature [+NEG]. The suggestion would also fall foul of Haegeman's (1995: 107) assumption about negative clauses, namely that they 'minimally have a NEG-feature associated with a functional head of the extended projection of V, i.e., of the clausal domain'. If the objection is well-founded, then the cross-linguistic variation in the 'abstract' Negative Cycle will clearly be more restricted than the cross-linguistic variation in Jespersen's 'overt' Negative Cycle: Neg^o will, at the relevant level of representation, always be marked [+NEG] in a negative clause. However, it would still be possible for the features borne by the specifier to vary. That is to say, it would still be possible for the features of SpecNegP to be underspecified, not marked [+NEG]. As we will see, even this more restricted 'abstract' Negative Cycle is sufficiently flexible for the purposes of the account of NC put forward here. Note also that the unidirectionality of DA, i.e., the fact that it spreads features from spec to head but not *vice versa*, could well have the effect of making sure the head is always endowed with relevant features.

⁴⁷ It is unclear to us how closely the overt locus of sentential negation should correspond to the abstract locus of sentential negation. That is, does the fact that a given language overtly marks sentential negation, say, in association with SpecNegP *necessarily* mean that SpecNegP, rather than Neg^o, bears the abstract feature [+NEG] underlyingly? And what if negation is overtly marked as a head? Is the head then *necessarily* the locus of the feature [+NEG] to the exclusion of SpecNegP? Or is the feature then borne by both positions? The strong hypothesis would obviously be that the locus of the abstract feature corresponds to that of the overt marker, i.e., that the 'abstract' Negative Cycle should be an isomorphism of the 'overt' Negative Cycle, and this hypothesis would need to be tested empirically. However, in footnote 46, we mention a theoretical reservation concerning the viability of this hypothesis. Furthermore, some of the data discussed in section 3.3.2.1 suggest that the hypothesis is too strong. Nevertheless, it seems to us unreasonable that Jespersen's 'overt' Negative Cycle should be totally unrelated to and independent of the 'abstract' Negative Cycle proposed here. What seems much more likely is that one should essentially 'follow' the other. Some evidence discussed below suggests that it is the abstract cycle which follows the overt cycle. This is a welcome conclusion since it means that parameter-setting is determined by experience. Given that the pattern is cyclic, however, it may well be difficult to tell which cycle is in front of which.



Furthermore, this 'weak' conception of the spec-head relationship is still strong enough to account for the ungrammaticality of the following strings from Italian discussed by Belletti (1990: 41, (29c/d)), arguably attributable to spec-head agreement:

- (41) a. ★*Maria non parlava pur/ben di lui* (Italian)
 M. *non* spoke indeed of him
 b. ★*Maria non ha pur/ben parlato di lui*
 M. *non* has indeed spoken of him

Belletti (1990: 39), following Lonzi (1991), describes adverbs such as *pur/ben* 'indeed' as having 'the semantic function of reinforcing the assertive value of the sentence'. She concludes that they are the positive counterpart of negative (sentential) adverbs, and that, accordingly, they fill the specifier of a polarity phrase, SpecPolP or SpecEP. This analysis is supported by the fact that the distribution of *pur* and *ben* is identical to the negative adverbs *più* 'no more' and *mai* 'never' which are assumed by Belletti (1990) to occupy SpecNegP at S-structure: in (41b), the positive adverbs intervene between the auxiliary and the past participle, just like negative adverbs do. As positive emphatic adverbs, these elements are likely to bear the feature [+POS], or at least [-NEG], and will lead to ungrammaticality when appearing in the specifier position of a PolP whose head is marked [+NEG], as in (41), since [+NEG] is incompatible with [-NEG]/[+POS]. Note though that a spec-head relationship based on compatibility is strong enough to rule out these structures; it is not necessary to posit agreement in terms of feature identity between head and specifier.

Recent work by Lyons (1994b) suggests that the 'weak' version of spec-head agreement is in fact empirically better motivated than the 'strong' one. Lyons discusses data from Spanish in which subjects appear to disagree with the verb. In (42), for example, the subject is third person plural while the verb is first person plural.

- (42) a. Los estudiantes trabajamos mucho (Spanish)
 the students work-1PL much
 'We students work a lot.'
- b. Algunos estudiantes trabajamos mucho
 some students work-1PL much
 'Some students (including me) work a lot.'

The data in (42) are problematic if the spec-head relationship is formulated in terms of strict agreement. If, rather, it is formulated in terms of compatibility, the problem does not arise. Assuming that third person is not a real person at all but is, rather, a default person, the data in (42) are straightforward. In each sentence, the subject bears only number features, i.e., plural, which is perfectly compatible with the second person plural marking on AgrS^{o48}. Of course, an analysis in terms of strict agreement or feature sharing would wrongly predict the ungrammaticality of the strings in (42).

Most significantly for our purposes, a weaker interpretation of the spec-head relationship in terms of compatibility rather than feature identity makes it possible to account for the link between the Negative Cycle and NC, and it is to this that we turn in the next section. We therefore reject the strict 'agreement' formulation of the spec-head relationship.

3.5 *Jespersen's Generalisation: analysis*

An analysis of *Jespersen's Generalisation* will depend on an analysis of how NPIs are licensed in negative contexts. Two proposals are evaluated in section 3.5.1, and a modified version of the latter is adopted. An analysis of *Jespersen's Generalisation* itself is given in section 3.5.2.

3.5.1 NPI licensing in negative contexts

In this section, we consider not just NPI licensing in negative contexts but *Jespersen's Generalisation*. First, in section 3.5.1.1, we consider the approach adopted by Zanuttini

⁴⁸ This analysis is also in line with proposals made by Hulk & van Kemenade (1995: 231) who suggest that third person and singular number are both default ϕ -features. It also ties in well with Benveniste's (1966: 225-236) claim that first and second person differ in important respects from third person with respect to the morphological marking. Note that, in a number of languages, if not universally, negative quantifiers like *no-one*, which are semantically neither third person nor singular, are nevertheless syntactically third person singular. This also suggests that third person singular agreement morphology is a default setting. The agreement patterns in Spanish illustrated in (42) are also discussed in Torrego (1996: 114-6).

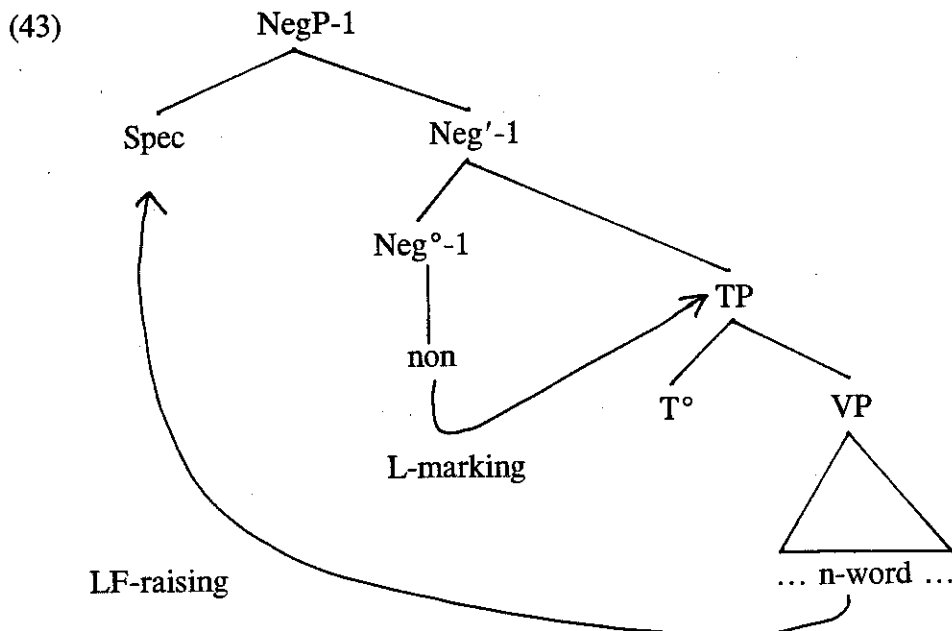
(1991) which exploits Chomsky's (1986b) idea of L-marking. We try to show that this approach, while theoretically interesting, is empirically inadequate. In section 3.5.1.2, we consider the more promising approach adopted by Progovac (1994; etc.) based on A'-binding. In section 3.5.1.3, we suggest important modifications to Progovac's A'-binding approach which, while exploiting her basic insight, have a number of empirical and theoretical advantages over her execution of the idea: in the first instance, the revised analysis is truer to the nature of A-binding; second, it makes it possible to account for *Jespersen's Generalisation*. The modifications are explored in section 3.5.2.

3.5.1.1 Zanutini (1991): L-marking

Jespersen's Generalisation is taken up by Zanutini (1991: chapter 5) within the framework of her account of NPI licensing in negative contexts. Zanutini claims (1991: 151-2) that the co-occurrence of the pre-verbal negative marker (which she analyses as the head of NegP-1, generated above TP⁴⁹) with post-verbal negative quantifiers (n-words) is linked to the need for the latter to raise, at LF, to SpecNegP-1 to satisfy the Neg Criterion, crossing TP as they go, which is a barrier⁵⁰ (Zanutini (1991: section 5.3)). In this scenario, the function of an obligatorily overt pre-verbal negative marker is to L-mark – and hence void the barrierhood of – the category it selects, TP, making LF movement of the negative quantifiers across TP into SpecNegP-1 licit, as illustrated in (43), adapted from Zanutini (1991: 162):

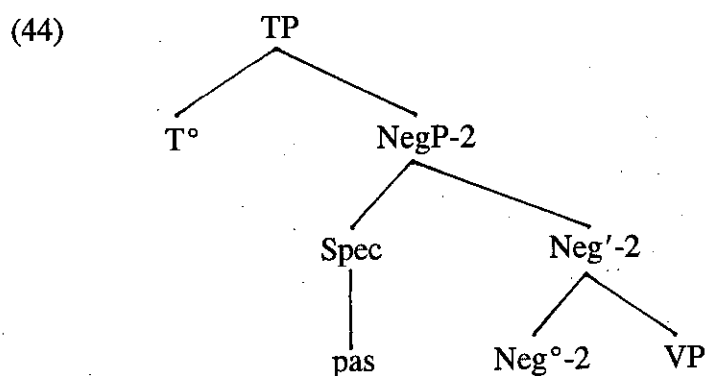
⁴⁹ The reader is referred to Zanutini's own work as well as chapter 2, section 2.2.1.3 for discussion of Zanutini's distinction between NegP-1 and NegP-2.

⁵⁰ Zanutini (1991: 159) claims that indicative TP is a barrier, but not infinitival or subjunctive TP. Further, she claims that the barrierhood of TP applies only to LF movement, and not to S-structure movement.



Negative quantifiers in pre-verbal position, e.g., negative subjects or topicalised negative constituents, do not co-occur with *non* because they do not need to cross TP and raise into SpecNegP at LF.

In Zanuttini's analysis, *post-verbal* markers of negation such as French *pas* are associated with the specifier position of what she terms NegP-2, generated *below* TP, as in (44) (adapted from Zanuttini (1991: 163)), and do not therefore have the ability to L-mark TP and NC is unavailable.



Thus, Zanuttini seems to have accounted for *Jespersen's Generalisation*.

This analysis is problematic for a number of reasons. First, if, generally speaking, UG makes Zanuttini's NegP-2 available below TP, why can this projection not be generated in, say, Italian? If NegP-2 were available in Italian, post-verbal n-words could raise into SpecNegP-2 to satisfy the Neg Criterion without having to cross TP. Pre-verbal *non* would then not be needed to L-mark TP in order to void its LF barrierhood. The ungrammaticality of post-verbal n-words in Italian in the absence of pre-verbal *non* suggests that there is no SpecNegP-2 position available, casting doubt on Zanuttini's

approach to NC, especially her NegP-2 hypothesis.

Second, Belletti (1990; 1992; 1994a/b) argues that there is, in Italian, a class of emphatic positive adverbs such as *ben/pur* 'indeed'⁵¹ which have the same distribution in positive clauses as adverbs such as *mai* 'never' and *più* 'no more' in negative clauses. Exploiting the parallel, Belletti terms these elements positive adverbs, and suggests that their matching distribution is due to the fact that they occupy Spec Σ P/SpecPolP, presumably to satisfy the AFFECT criterion⁵². Unlike NegP(-1), PosP/ Σ P does not have an overt head; presumably, TP is therefore not L-marked by Pos°/ Σ °, and therefore a barrier. Despite this, positive adverbs manage to move across TP to raise into SpecPosP. Why should this be possible for positive adverbs if it is impossible for negative adverbs? To be fair to Zanuttini's analysis, recall that she claims that TP is a barrier at LF only (cf. footnote 50 above). Given that Belletti's positive adverbs raise at S-structure, Zanuttini might argue that TP is not a barrier for this movement anyway and therefore do not need to be 'debarrierised' by an overt Pos°. The issue which then needs to be addressed is why, in the case of negative adverbs, such as *più* and *mai*, which raise into SpecNegP-1 at S-structure, pre-verbal *non* is required at all. If Zanuttini is right in claiming that *non* is needed to L-mark TP to void barrierhood of this node at LF, it should not be needed where movement across TP takes place in the syntax. A related problem is the fact that there are positive equivalents of negative quantifiers, e.g., universal quantifiers, which also remain *in situ* at S-structure. Assuming that these elements need to raise at LF for scope reasons, Zanuttini's account fails to predict their grammaticality. Why should multiple (positive) universal quantifiers be able to raise across a non-L-marked TP at LF while negative quantifiers cannot?

Third, why, in SC⁵³ and a number of Romance varieties like Romanian and Ladin⁵⁴ (but not Italian), is it the case that the need for the verb to appear with an overt negative marker is not sensitive to whether or not the verb is preceded by a negative quantifier? Why should this be the case if, as Zanuttini argues, the overt nature of the

⁵¹ See the discussion of the data in (41) above.

⁵² Recall that the Neg Criterion and *wh*-criterion are construction-specific instantiations of the AFFECT criterion in (35). Raising of Italian *ben/pur* into the equivalent of SpecNegP could be motivated by the AFFECT criterion if emphatic elements are deemed to bear affective features.

⁵³ See (23) and (24) for examples.

⁵⁴ See the examples in (ii) in footnote 19 above.

negative marker is to L-mark TP? If Zanuttini's analysis is along the right lines, SC, etc., would be expected to pattern with Italian, contrary to fact. The obverse of this objection to Zanuttini's can be made with respect to West Flemish (WF). WF has an (optional) pre-verbal negative marker, *en*, but obligatory raising of negative quantifiers (with sentential scope) at S-Structure. Why should morphologically negative quantifiers in WF not be able to remain *in situ* at S-structure safe in the knowledge that *en* will L-mark TP and allow LF-raising to SpecNegP, thus guaranteeing a concordant reading? Zanuttini's analysis fails to answer these questions⁵⁵.

Finally, in languages like Italian, an interesting scenario is provided by strings in which one negative quantifier appears pre-verbally while another appears post-verbally, as in (1b). In such a configuration, pre-verbal *non* does not appear. Under the assumption that the post-verbal negative quantifier has to raise at LF to SpecNegP to satisfy the Neg Criterion, one wonders why the presence of *non* is not necessary. It seems implausible to claim that the pre-verbal negative quantifier somehow manages to L-mark TP in the absence of an overt Neg° marker.

On the basis of these considerations, we reject Zanuttini's L-marking account of NC due to its empirical inadequacy. An alternative analysis of the NPI licensing involved in NC has been proposed by Progovac (1994; etc.). This approach is evaluated in the next section.

3.5.1.2 Progovac (1994; etc.): A'-binding

On the basis of distributional parallels between anaphors and pronominals, on the one hand, and polarity items/negative quantifiers, on the other, Progovac (1994; etc.) suggests that (A'-)Binding Theory (henceforth, BT) should be called upon to account for NPI licensing. It is within this general framework that she analyses the *ni*-NPIs of SC⁵⁶ as A'-anaphors which, just like A-anaphors, need to be bound within a given domain (Principle A of BT)⁵⁷. In BT terminology, the *ni*-NPIs need a local antecedent in the same way that (A-)anaphors do. Progovac says further that, in (45), for example, Principle A is satisfied by virtue of the fact that the *ni*-NPI *ni(t)ko-ga* 'no-one' is A'-bound by the c-commanding [_{Neg°} *ne*], which Progovac considers a functional (A'-)head. The

⁵⁵ Negation in WF is discussed in some detail in section 3.6.1 below.

⁵⁶ See section 3.3.1.1.

⁵⁷ Recall that *ni*-NPIs, irrespective of their position in a clause, must be clausemate with pre-verbal *ne*.

element *ne* functions as the A'-antecedent of the *ni*-NPI. This binding relationship is represented by co-indexation.

- (45) Mario ★(*ne_i*) vidi *ni(t)ko-ga_i* (SC)
 M. *ne* sees no-one-ACC
 'M. can't see anyone.'

This analysis is compatible with the standard assumption (e.g., in Haegeman (1995: 70-1) and references therein) that polarity items are licensed by a c-commanding negative or interrogative element. However, as Haegeman (1995: 294fn3) points out, this standard assumption says nothing in X'-theoretic terms about the nature of the c-commanding licenser of a polarity item: should it be a head or an XP? Haegeman herself (1995: 71) exploits both possibilities (arguably unnecessarily⁵⁸). Progovac clearly takes the former option with respect to the A'-binding of *ni*-NPIs in SC which, she argues, are bound by Neg°, i.e., *ne*. Here, Progovac essentially follows the line of Aoun (1986: 136) who, for negation in Italian, suggests that post-verbal negative quantifiers are A'-bound by pre-verbal *non*, their antecedent in his terms⁵⁹. Nevertheless, this move is surprising on the part of Progovac given her more general objective, namely to subsume NPI licensing under a version of BT generalised to the A'-system. While Progovac's claim that the distribution of *ni*-NPIs and *i*-NPIs in SC patterns surprisingly closely with anaphors and pronominals seems convincing enough, it is odd that Progovac chooses to have *ni*-NPIs (phrasal constituents) obligatorily A'-bound by the head *ne*. This is not the way A-binding is generally assumed to function. On the contrary, A-binding – in its most familiar form – involves one XP binding another XP, e.g., an overt antecedent binding an overt A-

⁵⁸ To be precise, in (i) (Haegeman's (1995: 70, (1a))), Haegeman assumes that the interrogative feature on the inverted auxiliary, i.e., X°, licenses (by binding?) the NPI.

(i) Did you see anyone?

However, given that the *wh*-criterion obliges an operator to co-occur with a *wh*-head, Haegeman could have assumed that it is the operator which is responsible for licensing the NPI. NPI-licensing by heads would then no longer be needed at all, and the theory would be more constrained. (See also Haegeman (1995: 294fn3).) The AFFECT criterion, i.e., the requirement that affective heads co-occur with an affective operator, could also be used to avoid the need for Laka (1990) and Progovac (1991) to claim that, in (ii) below, the NPI is licensed by the affective feature on the embedded C°. (See Haegeman (1995: 90, (56c)).)

(ii) He denies/doubts that anything happened

Instead, one could argue that the NPI is licensed by the null operator required to occupy SpecCP in order to satisfy the AFFECT criterion.

⁵⁹ Recall that Aoun was writing prior to the NegP hypothesis and the proposal of the Neg Criterion.

anaphor, as in (46a), or an overt NP binding its non-Case-marked trace (also assumed to be an A-anaphor) following NP-movement, as in (46b).

- (46) a. Susan_i loves herself_i
 b. John_i was killed *t_i*

Progovac's claim that *ni*-NPIs are A'-bound by Neg° is even more surprising in view of her Relativised Principle A of BT, given in (47):

(47) *Relativised Principle A:*

A reflexive R must be bound in the domain D containing R and an *X-bar compatible* SUBJECT.

If R is an X° (morphologically simple) reflexive, then its SUBJECTS are X° categories only, i.e., Agr (as the only salient (c-commanding) head with pronominal features).

If R is an X^{max} (morphologically complex) reflexive, its SUBJECTS are X^{max} specifiers with pronominal features, thus SpecIP and SpecNP.

(Progovac (1994: 12, (60)), our emphasis)

Within the terms of (47), it is only another XP that should be able to A'-bind the XP *ni*-NPIs of SC. So what could that XP be? Although negative, NegP itself will not count as a suitable A'-binder given that it actually contains the NPIs: co-indexation would violate the *i*-within-*i* filter. However, given the Neg Criterion, a potential A'-antecedent would be the operator in SpecNegP. In the following section, we propose that Progovac's Relativised Principle A of BT should be respected and that we should assume that A'-anaphors which are maximal projections can only be bound by antecedents which are also maximal projections, e.g., an operator in SpecNegP.

3.5.1.3 *Modified version of NPI licensing in negative contexts by A'-binding*

In this section, we propose an account of NPI licensing in negative contexts which exploits the basic insight behind Progovac's (1994; etc.) analysis reviewed in the previous section. First, it exploits theoretical apparatus already available and well-motivated, namely Generalized (A'-)BT. However, as will be shown below, the A'-binding account put forward here is arguably more faithful to the principles of A-binding than Progovac's original analysis. Second, and more importantly, it opens the door to an account of *Jespersen's Generalisation*. Third, it goes some way towards bringing natural language negation (back) into the sphere of the negation of (Boolean) logic. There is a tradition of observing that natural language negation (at least in NC languages) cannot be subsumed under logical negation; however, no convincing alternative has been proposed, suggesting

that the realm of logic was where natural language negation belonged all along. Finally, it allows us to claim, contra Acquaviva (1995), that inherently negative NPIs, i.e., negative quantifiers, are identical in the relevant syntactic respects cross-linguistically – despite their diverging distributions which can be attributed to a difference elsewhere in the grammar of the respective languages, namely their position in the Negative Cycle. This is a welcome result since it serves to reduce the range of variation attested cross-linguistically, a consequence which has clear benefits for the explanation of language acquisition.

In order to make the A'-binding of NPIs parallel to the A-binding of anaphors, we would like to suggest that Progovac's Relativised Principle A of BT in (47) be respected. Consequently, if *ni*-NPIs in SC are indeed XP A'-anaphors (as Progovac argues and as we assume), then they will need to be locally A'-bound by an XP antecedent rather than by a head antecedent. So what XP could the A'-binder be? As suggested in the previous section, the answer to this question comes from the Neg Criterion. Under the assumption that the SC negative sentence in (45) contains a NegP with a head bearing the feature [+NEG] and realised phonetically as *ne*, the Neg Criterion obliges us to posit the presence of an affective operator in SpecNegP. We would like to claim that it is this operator which A'-binds – and thus licenses – the *ni*-NPI in (45). In other words, the *ni*-NPI is A'-bound by the operator, Op, in SpecNegP, its antecedent, as in (45'):

(45') [_{AgrSP} Mario [_{AgrS'} *ne* vidi [_{NegP} Op_i [_{Neg'} ... [_{VP} ... *ni(t)ko-ga_i*]]]]] (SC)

Following Progovac (1994), we assume that the fact that *ni*-NPIs are not licensed by superordinate negation or in non-negative polarity contexts is due to the fact that, in such contexts, *ni*-NPIs are not A'-bound in the domain, D, referred to in (47). Progovac takes this domain to be NegP with possible extension to IP (= AgrSP) as a consequence of head-to-head movement of Neg° to I° (= AgrS°). Crucially, the domain never extends as far as CP. Given that SpecCP is arguably the position occupied by the highlighted polarity operator, Op, in the non-negative polarity context in (48a), or in the clause embedded under matrix negation in (48b), this assumption is necessary to account for the ungrammatical status of the examples.

(48) a. ★Sumnja-m [_{CP} Op [_{C'} da Milan voli *ni(t)ko-ga*]] (Progovac (1994:
doubt- 1SG that M. loves no-one-ACC 64, (17)))
'I doubt M. loves anyone.'

- b. ★Milan *ne* tvrdi [_{CP} Op [_C da Marija poznaje *ni(t)ko-ga*]] (Progovac (1994: 41, (111)))
 Mi. *ne* claims that Ma. knows no-one-ACC
 'Mi. isn't claiming that Ma. knows anyone.'

If the *ni*-NPIs are A'-bound at all in (48), they will be A'-bound by Op in SpecCP. However, this binder is not close enough to satisfy (47).

The strings in (48) are grammatical if the *ni*-NPIs are replaced with *i*-NPIs. We follow Progovac in attributing this to the fact that, as 'pronominals', *i*-NPIs obey BT Principle B, and must therefore be A'-free in the domain D. Nevertheless, *i*-NPIs also need to obey a requirement that they be A'-bound somewhere in the sentence outside the domain D. Unlike Progovac, though, we assume that an *i*-NPI, as a morphologically complex element, will also be bound by a maximal projection, such as Op in SpecCP in (48), rather than by a head such as C°.

3.5.2 Jespersen's Generalisation

By adopting a 'weak' interpretation of spec-head agreement and an A'-binding approach to NPI licensing in which XP NPIs can only be bound by XP antecedents, but not heads, we are now in a position to account for *Jespersen's Generalisation*.

Assume that the negative quantifiers referred to in the context of NC, e.g., *ni*-NPIs, *no*-NPIs, *n*-words, are inherently negative, i.e., they bear the feature [+NEG]. As polarity items (A'-anaphors), these will need to be licensed – by virtue of A'-binding, by hypothesis.

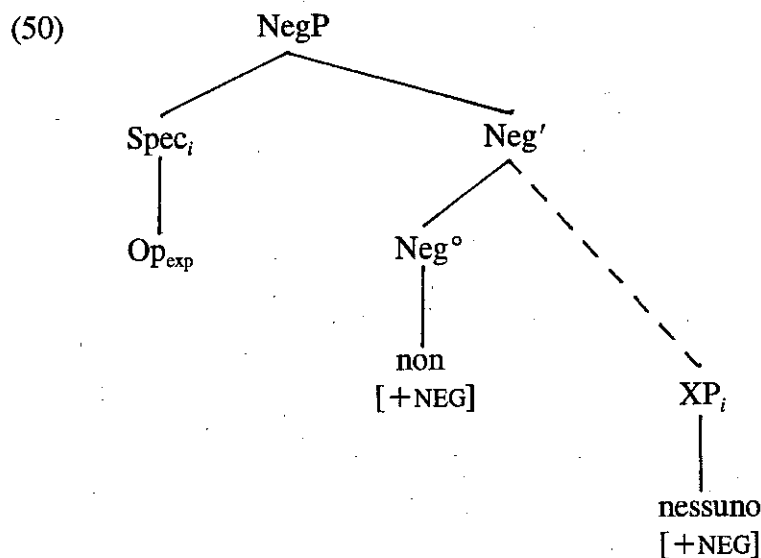
3.5.2.1 Why NC languages are NC languages...

In underlying representations, it was suggested above that, in NC languages, [+NEG] is to be seen as a feature of Neg° alone, i.e., not SpecNegP. Given such an underlying configuration, the Neg Criterion in (33) obliges us to posit the presence of a non-overt operator in SpecNegP. However, the 'weak' spec-head relationship based on compatibility rather than strict agreement does not transmit the feature [+NEG] to this operator. Indeed, given the unidirectionality of DA, we in fact assume that it is impossible for the [+NEG] feature to be passed from Neg° to SpecNegP. Accordingly, we shall assume that the non-overt operator in SpecNegP is what Haegeman (1995: 192-3) terms an 'expletive' polarity operator (Op_{exp}). While able to satisfy the Neg Criterion, this operator is not marked [+NEG]. We further assume that the operator is the element responsible for A'-binding and licensing the inherently negative polarity items: Op_{exp} in SpecNegP (unselectively)

A'-binds the [+NEG] polarity item *in situ*, creating a representational CHAIN⁶⁰.

This can be illustrated using the Italian example in (49). The relevant features of the representation of (49) are given in the tree in (50). Neg° bears the feature [+NEG]. In accordance with the Neg Criterion, SpecNegP must be filled by a polarity operator, Op. 'Weak' spec-head agreement checks that SpecNegP and Neg° are compatible, i.e., that they are both 'affective'. Nevertheless, DA does not transmit the [+NEG] feature from Neg° to SpecNegP. Op is therefore Op_{exp}, in Haegeman's (1995) sense. The inherently negative NPI *nessuno* 'no-one' is an A'-anaphor and needs to be A'-bound by forming a representational CHAIN with an antecedent within NegP in order to be licensed. The antecedent is Op_{exp}, hence the coindexing.

- (49) Mario *non* ha visto *nessuno* (Italian)
 M. *non* has seen no-one
 'M. hasn't seen anyone.'



Crucially, this does not produce a configuration in which the two instances of [+NEG] interact syntactically. This is a welcome result since it provides an explanation for why the two occurrences of [+NEG] in (50) do not interact with each other semantically, i.e., cancel each other out. One of the [+NEG] elements is a syntactic head, the other is a maximal projection and the two are independent of each other⁶¹. Note that this analysis

⁶⁰ See Acquaviva (1993) who also exploits unselective binding in the licensing of negative quantifiers but in a slightly different way.

⁶¹ The notion of heads and maximal projections not interfering with each other is, of course, not new. Within the context of movement, the two are usually regarded as separate and independent.

brings natural language negation closer to logical negation. The interpretation of (49) is not one of DN since, in (50), no negative constituent takes scope over any other negative constituent. Note also that if we had maintained the ‘strong’ interpretation of spec-head agreement, we would have had to assume that the polarity operator in SpecNegP in (50), Op, was what Haegeman (1995: 192-3) terms a ‘contentive’ operator, i.e., positively specified for the feature [\pm NEG] (as a consequence of being in a spec-head configuration with a [$+$ NEG] head). Consequently, the explanation for NC within logical negation would have been lost.

Before considering non-NC languages, we turn to the possibility, in NC languages, of multiple negative quantifiers co-occurring with a concordant reading, i.e., van der Wouden’s (1994: 95) ‘negative spread’. Here, we discuss two possible approaches to how it is that, in these languages, the [$+$ NEG] features of multiple negative quantifiers do not cancel each other out in structures such as (24) above, repeated here for convenience:

- (24) Milan *ne daje ni(t)kome ništa* (SC)
 M. *ne* gives no-one nothing
 ‘M. isn’t giving anything to anyone.’

There are two issues to be resolved with respect to (24). First, given that the two *ni*-NPIs are XPs, how is it that one of them fails to take scope over and cancel out the negative feature of the other? We assume that the answer to this question would need to exploit the A/A’-distinction. Under the assumption that the mechanism by which a negative constituent takes scope over another is A’-binding, then the absence of such scope relations in (24) can be accounted for since both negative quantifiers occupy A-positions.

The second issue to be addressed with respect to (24) concerns how multiple negative quantifiers are licensed in the first place. The first possibility is to assume that the structure of (24) is essentially identical to the one in (50) above, the only difference being that two *ni*-NPIs appear in the lower portion of the tree, unselectively bound by a unique Op_{exp} in SpecNegP. Within this approach, we assume a single operator can license a potentially unlimited number of *ni*-NPIs within the same clause. This is the approach adopted by Suñer (1993) and Acquaviva (1993): a single operator is associated with all post-verbal negative quantifiers by some form of unselective binding⁶². As an alternative, we could assume that each negative quantifier is bound by its own Op_{exp}, as in (51).

- (51) Milan [_{AgrS}’ *ne daje* [_{NegP} Op_{exp_i} Op_{exp_j} ... *ni(t)kome_i ništa_j*]]

⁶² See also Haegeman (1995: 202) for discussion.

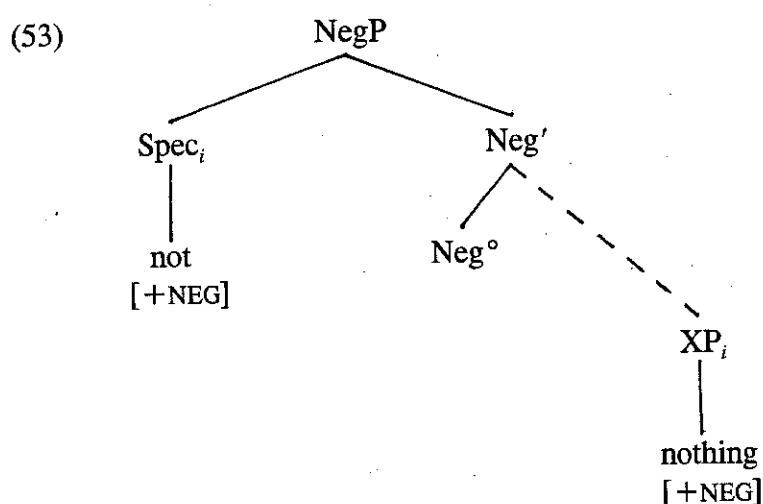
An approach similar to this is adopted by Brody (1995) for the relationship between null *wh*-operators and multiple overt *wh*-phrases *in situ*; Haegeman applies the same approach, albeit tentatively, to negative structures (1995: 201-5), suggesting that it allows a more unified approach to the syntax of negation: given that, in languages with multiple overt movement of negative quantifiers, e.g., West Flemish⁶³, multiple distinct chains are formed, it would be desirable for the same thing to be true of the representational CHAINS assumed in languages such as SC. This is only possible if the *in situ* negative quantifiers are bound by distinct expletive operators. However, given that absorption is assumed to take place in both cases, the dissimilarity introduced by a model in which multiple negative quantifiers are bound by a single expletive operator may not be significant. We leave this particular issue for future research and move on, in the next section, to non-NC languages.

3.5.2.2 ...and why non-NC languages are not

In non-NC languages like SE in which the feature [+NEG] is borne by the operator in SpecNegP, the situation is necessarily different. Here, the co-occurrence of the marker of pure sentential negation with a negative quantifier leads to logical DN, as in (52):

(52) I've not seen nothing (DN)

Let us assume that *no*-NPIs in SE are to all intents and purposes identical to the *ni*-NPIs of SC. If this assumption is justified, *nothing* in (52) will be an anaphor and will have to be A'-bound within a local domain, presumably by an operator in SpecNegP, as was the case in SC. This configuration is illustrated in (53):



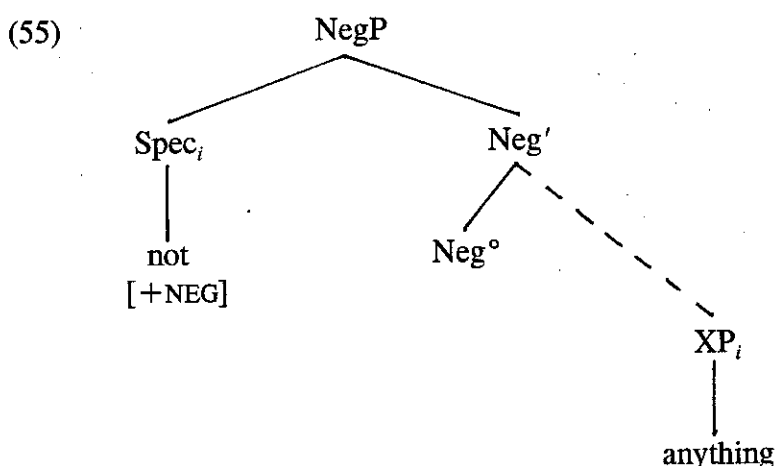
⁶³ See section 3.6.1.

The structure in (53) contrasts with the scenario sketched in the previous section and the structure in (50) in that it produces a configuration in which the two instances of [+NEG] interact with each other syntactically. The [+NEG] operator in SpecNegP (the antecedent) binds and therefore takes scope over the [+NEG] *no*-NPI (the anaphor). The fact that such structures are impossible (with the relevant NC interpretation) is predicted by the analysis proposed here, and supports the claim that natural language negation is closer to logical negation than is sometimes assumed. As predicted by Boolean logic, where one [+NEG] element takes scope over another [+NEG] element (e.g., by A'-binding), as in (52)/(53), the two instances of negation cancel each other out, producing DN.

This result also allows us to conclude, contra Acquaviva (1995), that we were right in assuming that there are no non-trivial differences between negative quantifiers cross-linguistically – a desirable result from the point of view of acquisition as suggested earlier. SC *ni*-NPIs, English *no*-NPIs and Romance *n*-words are all essentially identical. They are A'-anaphors and need to be A'-bound within a local domain. Their different distributions can be attributed, for the most part, to the fact that the languages in which they appear stand at different points in the Negative Cycle, i.e., that these languages vary with respect to whether SpecNegP is marked [+NEG].

SE adopts one of two possible strategies to avoid DN in the context of indefinite quantifiers⁶⁴. The first is to use NPIs which are not inherently negative and which will not, therefore, cancel out the negative force of the [+NEG] operator in SpecNegP when bound by it, namely the *any*-NPIs:

(54) I've not seen anything



⁶⁴ We assume that deciding which of the two alternatives illustrated in (54) and (57) is the unmarked one is a language-specific issue. According to Ramat *et al.* (1987: 173), Icelandic prefers the strategy analogous to (57) while Danish prefers the analogue to (54).

In (55), *anything* (A'-bound by the operator in SpecNegP) is not inherently negative. DN is thus avoided since one negative element is not in the scope of another⁶⁵.

So, what of multiple NPIs licensed by a single instance of sentential negation in non-NC languages, as in (56)?

(56) I've not seen *anything* *anywhere*

In section 3.5.2.1 above, we discussed multiple negative quantifiers in NC languages. There, two possible analyses were discussed. The first possibility was for all post-verbal negative quantifiers to be licensed by unselective A'-binding from a *single* Op_{exp} in SpecNegP. The second possibility was for each post-verbal negative quantifier to be associated with its own Op_{exp} in SpecNegP. Similarly, there are two possible approaches to the licensing of multiple NPIs licensed by a single instance of sentential negation as in (56). Either we assume that each and every NPI is licensed by association (via unselective A'-binding) with a *single* contentive operator in SpecNegP, i.e., *not*, or we assume that each and every NPI is licensed by association with its own Op_{cont}. Note that, in the case of SE, this second model involves one *any*-NPI being bound by the overt operator *not*, while all other *any*-NPIs would be bound by a non-overt Op_{cont}. This discrepancy is arguably a weakness of the second model. In the first model, all the *any*-NPIs are licensed by *not*.

The second (and more marked) strategy adopted by SE to avoid DN in the context of indefinite quantifiers is to avoid the negative operator⁶⁶, as in (57):

(57) I have seen *nothing*

Two possible analyses come to mind for (57). In the first and most natural instance, and in order for *nothing* to take sentential scope, *nothing* is assumed to be bound by an expletive polarity operator in SpecNegP. This is the approach adopted by Haegeman (1995: 185-6, section 1.4.2.2.3). This would allow the Neg Criterion to be satisfied by virtue of the relationship between the CHAIN containing the non-overt expletive operator

⁶⁵ Furthermore, we would argue that the configuration in (55) is also the one found in Modern French. Here, the [+NEG] operator is phonologically null and the *personne, rien, jamais*, etc., series of quantifiers are NPIs like the *any*-NPIs of English: they need to be A'-bound to be licensed, but are not themselves inherently negative. See section 3.6.2 and chapters 4 and 5 for detailed analysis.

⁶⁶ See chapter 1, sections 1.3.1 and 1.4, for evidence suggesting that, in (57), the clause and, presumably, therefore, the verb is negative in abstract terms.

and the negative quantifier. The negative head would then, by DA, be endowed with the feature [+NEG] and the sentence would be negative. Second, and less naturally, the negative quantifier has local scope and an echoic reading. It does not then count as an operator and is not associated with a NegP. The sentence would then be positive in all relevant senses.

Although such optionality is, in principle, undesirable, it is a possibility supported by the following observation. The two possibilities make predictions with respect to possible tag questions. In (58), the tag questions have to have the opposite polarity to the 'antecedent':

- (58) a. You like squid, don't you?/*do you?
 b. You don't like squid, ★don't you?/do you?

Where the 'antecedent' has a structure along the lines of (57), both polarities are (just about) possible in the tag:

- (59) a. You've done nothing all day, have you?
 b. You've done nothing all day, haven't you?

How can this choice be accounted for? On the basis of the tags, it looks like the antecedent clause in (59) can be seen as *either* negative *or* positive. This could be taken to be the consequence of the two possible ways of licensing *nothing*. If *nothing* takes sentential scope by being bound by Op_{exp} in SpecNegP, the antecedent clause will end up being negative and the positive tag will be licensed: (59a). If, alternatively, the negative quantifier has local scope, there will be no binding and no NegP; the antecedent will be positive, and the negative tag will be licensed: (59b).

Before moving on to deal with two apparent counterexamples to *Jespersen's Generalisation*, we return briefly to the contrast with respect to NC discussed in sections 3.3.2.1 and 3.3.1.2 above between SE and closely related non-standard varieties such as Cockney.

- (60) a. I ain't done nothin' (Cockney: NC)
 b. I haven't done nothing (SE: DN)

In SE, NC is unavailable with *n't*; in Cockney, in contrast, it is available. As suggested throughout, this contrast will not be dealt with by assuming some abstract distinction between Cockney *nothin'* and SE *nothing*. Rather, we assume that the negative marker on the verb is significantly different in the two varieties. In Cockney, we assume that

negative auxiliaries like *ain't* are drawn from the lexicon as such. Consequently, the [+NEG] feature is borne underlyingly by a head. The non-overt operator licensing *nothin'* in (60a) will therefore be Op_{exp} . To all intents and purposes, Cockney behaves like Italian. In (60b), *n't* is deemed to be no more than a phonologically cliticised version of *not* in SpecNegP. Thus, in (60b), *nothing* is bound by a contentive negative operator, hence DN.

In section 3.6, we consider two languages which do not look as though they immediately fit *Jespersen's Generalisation*: in section 3.6.2, we return to French and see that *Jespersen's Generalisation* makes some controversial predictions about the nature of so-called 'negative' quantifiers and adverbs in that language. The conclusions we draw there will provide a basis for the analysis of adverbial and argumental semi-négations in chapters 4 and 5. But first, in section 3.6.1, we look at West Flemish (henceforth, WF), a dialect of Dutch whose system of pure sentential negation crucially differs from that of Standard Dutch and Standard German. Yet the similarities between WF and Standard Dutch and German are such that *Jespersen's Generalisation* predicts WF should be a non-NC language. However, as we shall see, NC is possible in WF.

3.6 Counterexamples to *Jespersen's Generalisation*?

3.6.1 West Flemish

At first sight, the data presented below suggest that *Jespersen's Generalisation* falls down in the case of WF. In section 3.6.1.1, we present the data; in section 3.6.1.2, we suggest an analysis, following Haegeman (1995), which somewhat weakens the status of WF as a counterexample⁶⁷.

3.6.1.1 The data

In some respects, sentential negation in WF and French are similar: like French *ne*, the optional pre-verbal *en* is insufficient to mark sentential negation on its own, as in (61), and must co-occur with a negative phrasal constituent, either the negative adverb *nie* 'not', equivalent to French *pas*, as in (62), or some other negative element, as in (63)⁶⁸:

⁶⁷ For detailed discussion and analysis of negation in WF, see Haegeman (1992b; 1995: chapter 3) and H&Z (1995).

⁶⁸ The data from WF are given in the context of embedded clauses to compensate for V2 effects. Text example (61) is not only not negative, it is ungrammatical, suggesting that the licensing properties of *en* may run parallel to those of French *ne*. See chapter 1, section 1.3.5.

- (61) ★da Valère dienen boek *en*-eet (Zanuttini (1991: 170, (278)))
 that V. that book *en*-has
- (62) da Valère dienen boek *nie* (*en*-)eet (Zanuttini (1991: 171, (279a)))
 that V. that book not *en*- has
 '...that V. doesn't have that book.'
- (63) a. da Valère ier *niemand* (*en*-)kent (Haegeman (1995: 116, (5b)))
 that V. here no-one *en*- knows
 '...that V. doesn't know anyone here.'
- b. da Valère dienen boek *nieverst* (*en*-)vindt (Zanuttini (1991: 171, (280b)))
 that V. that book nowhere *en*- finds
 '...that V. doesn't find that book anywhere.'
- c. da Valère *geen geld* (*en*-)eet (Zanuttini (1991: 171, (281a)))
 that V. no money *en*- has
 '...that V. has no money.'

On the basis of these data, and given the discussion of French in chapters 1 and 2, we would want to conclude that, in WF, like SE (and indeed Standard Dutch and Modern German), the abstract feature [+NEG] is borne by SpecNegP underlyingly, and we would expect WF to pattern with the languages discussed in section 3.3.2 above. That is to say, we would not expect WF to be a non-NC language.

However, in contrast to Standard Modern Dutch and German, negative quantifiers can co-occur in WF, without cancelling each other out, as in (64), taken from Haegeman (1995: 132-3, (39)):

- (64) a. da Valère [*an niemand*] [*niets*] gezeid (*en*-)oat
 that V. to no-one nothing said *en*- had
 '...that V. hadn't said anything to anyone.'
- b. da Valère [*nooit*] [*an geen mens*] [*niets*] gezeid (*en*-)oat
 that V. never to no person nothing said *en*- had
 '...that V. had never said anything to anyone.'
- c. da Valère [*nooit*] [*van niemand*] ketent (*en*-)was
 that V. never of no-one contented *en*- was
 '...that V. was never pleased with anyone.'

The XPs co-occurring with each other and, optionally, with *en* in (64) are clearly inherently negative: they are inherently negative quantifiers rather than *any*-type NPIs.

Furthermore, the negative adverb *nie* can co-occur with negative quantifiers, again without the negation being cancelled, as in (65), taken from Haegeman (1995: 133, (40)):

- (65) a. da Valère [*an niemand*] [*niets*] [*nie*] gezeid (*en*-)oat
 that V. to no-one nothing not said *en*- had
 (= (64a))
- b. da Valère [*nooit*] [*an geen mens*] [*niets*] [*nie*] gezeid (*en*-)oat
 that V. never to no person nothing not said *en*- had
 (= (64b))
- c. da Valère [*nooit*] [*van niemand*] [*nie*] ketent (*en*-)was
 that V. never of no-one not contented *en*- was
 (= (64c))

So WF appears to be a counterexample to *Jespersen's Generalisation*. The crucial negative marker, *nie*, is generated under SpecNegP⁶⁹ and, although *en* exists in WF as a pre-verbal negative marker associated with Neg°, its status seems comparable with that of *ne* in French⁷⁰ or Breton⁷¹. In WF, the feature [+NEG] seems to be associated with SpecNegP. Nevertheless, the data in (64), and especially (65), suggest that WF is an NC language, contra (2). In the next section, we take a close look at NC in WF and see that there are strict conditions on its availability. After careful consideration of these constraints, we offer an analysis of the data reviewed which suggests WF is not as significant a problem for *Jespersen's Generalisation* as might first have seemed to be the case.

3.6.1.2 The analysis: NC and scrambling

The data from WF in section 3.6.1.1 above suggested this language might be a counterexample to *Jespersen's Generalisation*⁷². On the basis of (61) and (62), we concluded that, in WF, the feature [+NEG] is borne by SpecNegP. Accordingly, WF is predicted to be a non-NC language. The data in (64) and (65) show that this is not in fact the case. In (64) and (65), negative quantifiers, e.g., *niemand* 'no-one', *niets* 'nothing', *nooit* 'never', *nieverst* 'nowhere', co-occur with an NC reading, not only with each other, but also with the negative adverb, *nie* 'not'. Is it possible to square these data from WF with *Jespersen's Generalisation*? In this section, we show that there are a number of

⁶⁹ Alternatively, *nie* is moved to SpecNegP in the syntax; see the discussion of French *pas* in chapter 2.

⁷⁰ See section 3.2.1 and chapter 1, section 1.3 and footnote 4.

⁷¹ See (8).

⁷² We are grateful to Liliane Haegeman for helpful discussion of the analysis put forward in this section. However, she cannot be held responsible for the suggestions we make here.

restrictions on NC in WF which suggest that *Jespersen's Generalisation* (or, rather, the account proposed of the empirical generalisation) can in fact be salvaged. In particular, the restrictions on NC suggest that the analysis of *Jespersen's Generalisation* proposed in section 3.5.2 is along the right lines.

For the concordant readings in (64) and (65) to be available, the negative quantifiers must scramble leftwards out of their base position. Following Haegeman (1995), we shall analyse this leftward scrambling as raising to (or above) SpecNegP and conclude that, for reasons independent of the Neg Criterion, for example, WF is able to exploit this mechanism in order to avoid DN. This overt operation on negative constituents produces 'negative absorption' (along the lines of *wh*-absorption) and leads to the observed concordant readings. The negative constituents associated with SpecNegP at S-structure are thus treated – to all intents and purposes – as a single negative constituent⁷³. Consequently, while, on the surface of it, WF is indeed an exception to the generalisation, the analysis presented in section 3.5.2 above holds for this language too.

In Haegeman's account of negative absorption (1995: 117-20), she assumes that the WF negative adverb *nie* 'not' has a fixed (S-structure) position, i.e., SpecNegP. It seems to us that this is a reasonable assumption to make, one which is supported both by Pollock's (1989) and our own chapter 2 analyses of (the derivation of) French *pas*. Irrespective of whether the traditional SOV West Germanic languages such as WF are analysed as being head-final or head-initial⁷⁴, the position of phrasal constituents with respect to *nie* will provide a diagnostic for whether their structural position is above or below NegP. Material preceding *nie* is either in SpecNegP as well, or above a minimal NegP; material following *nie* but preceding the finite verb in AgrS° is contained within Neg'.

Like Standard Dutch and German, WF is a scrambling language. Scrambling is optional or compulsory depending on various factors which we do not need to go into here. The discussion here will be limited to what is relevant for NC. The acceptability of both examples in (66) show that scrambling of the PP complement of an adjective is

⁷³ This could be seen as a consequence of the Neg Criterion and the biuniqueness Haegeman assumes (1995: 97) between heads and specifiers. In discussion, Liliane Haegeman has suggested to us that 'negative absorption' should not require the concordant negative XPs to occupy SpecNegP as such. Rather, the phenomenon should be possible from 'extended' specifier positions, in the sense of Grimshaw (1993). See also Kayne (1994).

⁷⁴ See the version of the Universal Base Hypothesis proposed by Kayne (1994) and implemented for Standard Dutch by Zwart (1993).

optional. The PP can remain *in situ* in post-adjectival position, as in (66a), or, alternatively, may scramble out of the AP, as in (66b) (data from Haegeman (1995: 130, (33))):

- (66) a. da Valère [_{AP} ketent [_{PP} me zenen kado]] was
 that V. contented with his present was
 '...that V. was satisfied with his present.'
- b. da Valère [_{PP} me zenen kado] [_{AP} ketent t] was
 that V. with his present contented was
 (= (66a))

In contrast to the optional nature of scrambling in (66), where the PP contains a negative quantifier, scrambling is compulsory for the negative to take sentential scope. Failure to scramble means that the negative quantifier has narrow/local scope and the pre-verbal negative marker *en* is not licensed, hence the ungrammaticality of (67a) with the pre-verbal negative marker⁷⁵:

- (67) a. da Valère [_{AP} ketent [_{PP} me niets]] (★*en*)-was
 that V. contented with nothing *en*- was
- b. da Valère [_{PP} me niets] [_{AP} ketent t] (*en*)-was
 that V. with nothing contented *en*- was
 '...that V. wasn't satisfied with anything.'

Haegeman (1995: 135) explains the contrast between (67a) and (67b) in terms of the Neg Criterion. In order to be licensed, *en* requires a spec-head configuration with a negative operator, such as the negative PP. Raising of the PP to SpecNegP or above, for example, as we assume has happened in (67b), produces the necessary configuration, and *en* is licensed. The position of the PP in (67b) is therefore assumed to be (no lower than) SpecNegP.

In addition to licensing pre-verbal *en*, scrambling of negative quantifiers in WF is relevant to NC. Consider the interpretation of the strings in (68), taken from Haegeman

⁷⁵ If the pre-verbal negative marker *en* is omitted, (67a) is not, in fact, ungrammatical as such. Rather, the negative constituent fails to achieve sentential scope as a consequence of not having scrambled out of its containing AP and has narrow scope. Haegeman (1995: 136-7) suggests that (67a) would then be interpreted in one of two ways. Either the negative constituent is echoic or *Valère* is very easy to please, i.e., 'he is happy (even) when he has very little'. With pre-verbal *en* in place, (67a) is indeed ungrammatical, as indicated in the text, since failure of the negative constituent to raise (to SpecNegP) fails, in turn, to license *en*. Note that these facts are further evidence to suggest that WF *en* has parallel licensing conditions to French *ne*.

(1995: 132, (38)):

- (68) a. da Valère [_{PP} van niemand] nie [_{AP} ketent t] en-was NC
 that V. of no-one not contented en-was
 ‘...that V. wasn’t pleased with anyone.’
 b. da Valère nie [_{AP} ketent [_{PP} van niemand]] en-was DN
 c. da Valère nie [_{PP} van niemand] [_{AP} ketent t] en-was DN
 b & c: ‘...that V. was not pleased with no-one.’

Given the presence of *nie* in SpecNegP in the strings in (68), the clauses are interpreted as negative and pre-verbal *en* is licensed throughout. There is, however, a crucial difference between (68a) and (68b/c). In (68a), in which the negative PP has scrambled to the left of *nie* in SpecNegP, the two occurrences of negative XPs (*niemand* and *nie*) contribute to a single instance of sentential negation: (68a) is an example of NC. This is not the case in (68b/c). In (68b), the negative PP remains *in situ* while, in (68c), the negative PP scrambles locally, but is still to the right of *nie* in SpecNegP. In both cases, NC is unavailable: the two negative XPs cancel each other out, leading to DN. The contrast is clear from the translations.

The different interpretations witnessed in (68) show that WF is not a generalised NC language *à l’italienne*. Rather, it seems that there are clear configurational constraints on NC in this language. Given the interpretation of (68b/c), i.e., the unavailability of NC, Haegeman (1995) concludes that these configurational constraints amount to the need for negative XPs to be associated with SpecNegP for a concordant reading to be available. The string in (68a) respects this constraint if the surface position of the negative PP is ‘associated with SpecNegP’, i.e., if it occupies an (extended) SpecNegP position. Haegeman argues that this is indeed the case, suggesting that the scrambled negative constituent is adjoined either to NegP or to SpecNegP itself. In contrast, given that, in (68b) and (68c), the negative PP has not raised to an (extended) SpecNegP position, the strings do not satisfy the configurational constraint on NC, hence the DN interpretations.

What, then, are we to make of WF? To what extent does it represent a problem for *Jespersen’s Generalisation*? We would like to suggest that, while the data reviewed here clearly show that *Jespersen’s Generalisation* needs to be qualified, the configurational constraint on NC in WF in fact lends support to the analysis of NC proposed in section 3.5.2. A number of points need to be made. First, *Jespersen’s Generalisation* predicts that WF is not an NC language. Indeed, the data in (68b/c) show that, at the very least, WF is not a generalised NC language. *Jespersen’s Generalisation* does not therefore fail entirely in the case of WF.

Second, the nature of the configurational constraint on NC in WF suggests that, in order for NC to be available, negative XPs need to move to a position outside the scope of the negative marker *nie* in SpecNegP, whereby scope relations are determined, at least in part, by A'-binding, itself defined in terms of c-command. In (68a), the negative PP is higher than *nie* and escapes its scope. The fact that, in its surface position, the negative PP is itself then associated with the same SpecNegP and Neg° positions by negative absorption, it could be argued, prevents the PP from taking scope over (and cancelling out) the negative marker *nie* in SpecNegP. In (68b/c), the negative PP fails to move to a position outside the c-command domain of *nie* and, hence, remains in its scope, leading to logical DN. All these facts are, arguably, predicted by the analysis of NC and DN proposed in section 3.5.2. To that extent, the facts from WF back up the account of *Jespersen's Generalisation* suggested here.

Finally, given that *Jespersen's Generalisation* is after all nothing more than a label for an observed set of empirical facts it is, we would suggest, more important that WF be compatible with the explanation of the facts than with the generalisation based on the facts. In the next section, we turn to Modern French which might also be regarded as problematic for *Jespersen's Generalisation*.

3.6.2 Modern French

Like Italian *non* and Spanish *no*, the French negative marker *ne* is proclitic on the first finite verb in a clause. In contrast to the Italian and Spanish markers, though, Modern French *ne* is generally neither sufficient nor necessary to mark sentential negation, although it was at earlier stages in the development of the language⁷⁶. In this respect, Modern French *ne* is like WF *en* discussed in the previous section. As was seen in section 3.2.1, proclitic *ne* came to be reinforced by syntactically independent constituents, the most sturdy of which proved to be *pas*.

- (69) Je (*ne*) vois ★(*pas*) ta mère
 I ne see pas your mother
 'I can't see your mother.'

(Modern French)

In view: (a) of the obligatory presence of *pas*, and only optional presence of *ne*, to mark pure sentential negation in the modern language; and (b) of the fact that *ne* can appear

⁷⁶ See (4a/b) above and the discussion in chapter 1, section 1.3.4.

without contributing a negative feature to the clause⁷⁷; we conclude that, underlyingly at least, it is SpecNegP (rather than Neg°) that bears the feature [+NEG].

Given this conclusion, the generalisation in (2) predicts that Modern French should be a non-NC language. Evaluating this prediction, i.e., determining whether negative concord exists in Modern French as in SC, Cockney, Italian or Spanish, is not a straightforward issue since, with the exception of the determiner *nul*, no French 'negative' can convincingly be argued to be morphologically negative (on a par with the *ni*-NPIs of SC or the *no*-NPIs of SE)⁷⁸. A set of morphologically negative indefinite quantifiers did not develop in French⁷⁹. Consequently, it is unclear whether the 'negatives' which do exist in the language, e.g., *rien* 'nothing/anything', *personne* 'no-one/anyone', *jamais* 'never/ever', are inherently negative or not, i.e., whether they are equivalent to the *no-/ni*-NPIs or the *any-/i*-NPIs of SE and SC respectively.

On the basis of the generalisation in (2), we would of course predict that these French 'negatives' are equivalent to the *any-/i*-NPIs. The generalisation in (2) predicts that Modern French is a non-NC language; if these 'negatives' were in fact inherently negative, Modern French would be an NC language, contrary to prediction. Nevertheless, arguments have been advanced to support both analyses in the literature. For example, while Laka (1990) treats them as polarity items in the traditional sense of the term, i.e., not inherently negative, Zanuttini (1991) argues that they are negative quantifiers, i.e., that they *are* inherently negative.

We shall not review the arguments presented for and against the two positions here; instead we refer the reader to the literature. (See also Quer (1993) for discussion.) Neither do we have new data to support either position. However, given the otherwise

⁷⁷ See chapter 1, section 1.3.4 for arguments that *ne* is no longer inherently negative, e.g., in examples such as (i):

(i) Jeanine craint que Pierrette ne soit en retard
J. fears that P. *ne* be-SUBJ in lateness
'J. fears P. might be late.'
≠ 'J. fears P. might not be late.'

⁷⁸ But see Haase (1969: 110, §52B), who claims that even the negative value of *nul* has been progressively lost. Posner (1985a: 170) also suggests that the few Latin negatives other than *non* that survived, e.g., *nullus* from which French *nul* is derived, 'were treated more as negative polarity items than as inherently semantically negative'. For discussion of the etymology of Romance n-words, see Laka (1993a).

⁷⁹ This is a fact which itself deserves investigation. The same can be said for Catalan. What is perhaps significant in this respect about these two varieties is the fact that they have phrasal negative markers, namely *pas* in both cases.

robust nature of the generalisation in (2), we shall adopt the analysis of these ‘negatives’ as being equivalent to the *any-/i*-NPIs, and conclude that Modern French is a non-NC language. This is, however, not merely a convenient move given the general argument put forward in this chapter. Support for the conclusion can be drawn from a comparison of Modern French with earlier forms of the language. NC of a fashion was possible in seventeenth century French (henceforth, C17Fr). Examples are given below in (70), taken from Haase (1969: 256, §102A):

- (70) a. Encore qu’ ils *n’ aient* *pas* la mesure d’ *aucune* sorte de vers (C17Fr)
yet that they *ne* have-SUBJ *pas* the measure of *aucune* kind of verse
‘Even though they don’t sound like verse of any kind.’
- b. *Ne* faites *pas* semblant de *rien*
ne do-IMP *pas* semblance of *rien*
‘Don’t pretend anything.’
- c. Ce *n’ est pas* que je pense à *personne* d’ ici
it *ne* is *pas* that I think of *personne* from here
‘It’s not that I’m thinking of anyone here.’
- d. On *ne* veut *pas rien* faire ici qui vous déplaît
we *ne* want *pas rien* do-INF here which you displease
‘We don’t want to do anything which might upset you.’

In these examples, post-verbal *pas* co-occurs with the ‘negatives’ *aucun*, *rien* and *personne* (as well as with *ne*). While the ‘negatives’ can, with some exceptions⁸⁰, co-occur with each other in the modern language, they cannot co-occur with *pas* with a concordant interpretation in the way that they do in (70). Where they do co-occur, the interpretation is of logical DN.

The crucial difference between C17Fr as described by Haase (1969) and the modern language is that the former was still at the stage in the Negative Cycle illustrated by (4b), whereas the latter is at the stage in the Negative Cycle illustrated by (4c/d/e) (depending on the variety of Modern French under consideration). That is to say, in C17Fr, the pre-verbal negative marker *ne* was necessary and sufficient to mark sentential negation. While *ne* was compulsory, the appearance of post-verbal *pas* for reinforcement was optional. At this point, pre-verbal *ne* was clearly still inherently negative (like *no/non* in Modern Spanish/Italian). This is illustrated in (71) below, taken from Haase (1969: 251,

⁸⁰ See Muller (1991: 269) for details of possible combinations.

§100B)⁸¹. In Modern French, in contrast, the appearance of post-verbal *pas* is an obligatory marker of pure sentential negation, as shown in (69) above.

- (71) a. Il *ne* meurt de cette peine (C17Fr)
 he *ne* dies of this pain
 'This pain isn't killing him.'
- b. Je *ne* veux du tout vous voir
 I *ne* want at all you see-INF
 'I don't want to see you at all.'
- c. Aussi pour *ne* vous ennuyer, je vous les dirai
 also for *ne* you annoy-INF I you them say-FUT
 'Therefore, in order not to annoy you, I will tell you them.'

C17Fr thus belongs with those languages reviewed in section 3.3.1. Accordingly, the generalisation in (2) predicts that C17Fr should be an NC language. Indeed, it seems clear that this is the case.

The question to be addressed, though, is this: in (70), which negative elements enter into NC with each other? We would suggest that it is pre-verbal *ne* which enters into NC with the post-verbal *pas*⁸²: both pre-verbal *ne* and post-verbal *pas* are inherently negative, yet are interpreted together as a single instance of sentential negation, i.e., in an NC reading. We assume this to be attributable to a structure like the one in (50) above. The inherently negative *ne* occupies Neg°. SpecNegP is occupied by Haegeman's (1995) non-overt expletive operator: Op_{exp}. Op_{exp} binds *pas* which, at this stage in the development of the language, does not have to raise into SpecNegP⁸³. In turn, negative *pas*, adjoined to VP, takes scope over the elements *aucun(e)*, *rien* and *personne* which we assume are non-inherently negative NPIs like the *any*-NPIs of SE.

So, what then of the difference between Modern French and, say, C17Fr? The generalisation in (2) predicts that Modern French is a non-NC language. What, then, has changed? We would argue that the change underlying the shift from NC to non-NC status

⁸¹ In fact, it was during the seventeenth century that the appearance of a post-verbal marker of pure negation began to be obligatory. The examples given in the text are still typical during the early part of the century, but are rarer by the turn of the eighteenth century. Posner (1985a: 171) claims that, certainly by the seventeenth century, *pas*, *point*, *mie*, *rien*, etc., had become 'virtually obligatory disjunctive appendages of pre-verbal *ne*'.

⁸² This interpretation of the data is also suggested by Hirschbühler & Labelle (1993b: 18).

⁸³ This was the conclusion drawn in chapter 2, section 2.2.2 on the basis of the relative position of *pas* and lexical infinitives.

centres on the pre-verbal marker *ne*. Up to C17Fr, *ne* (= Neg°) was inherently negative, i.e., bore the abstract feature [+NEG] underlyingly. Subsequently, and for reasons discussed in section 3.2.2, *ne* lost this property. Given that one of the two original elements entering into NC is then no longer negative, the issue of NC is no longer relevant. The issue which remains to be addressed, however, is why the NPIs, i.e., *rien*, *personne*, *jamais*, etc., while compatible with each other, are no longer compatible with *pas*. This issue is addressed in chapter 4, section 4.5.2⁸⁴.

3.7 Discussion and summary

3.7.1 Discussion

The analysis of *Jespersen's Generalisation* proposed in this chapter has relied crucially on what we have termed a 'weak' interpretation of the relationship between a head and its specifier in terms of compatibility rather than strict agreement. According to this interpretation, where a head bears relevant (agreement, affective) features underlyingly, its specifier is prevented from bearing incompatible features, but does not have to bear identical features. In other words, Rizzi's DA is unidirectional, from specifier to head, but not from head to specifier. Such a modification to the spec-head relationship made it possible to account for *Jespersen's Generalisation* on the basis of cyclic fluctuation in the underlying position of the abstract feature [+NEG].

Of course, given that natural languages can be distinguished in terms of other cyclic parameters too, the question arises as to whether the approach adopted here, if justified, can be used to explain distinctions between natural languages other than the NC vs. non-NC distinction. One parameter which has received considerable attention over the last

⁸⁴ With respect to the pre-French period, Vennemann (1974: 366-8) suggests that the Latin negative marker *non* was an adverb (like *pas* in Modern French). In a verb-final language like Latin, *non* is therefore expected to be pre-verbal. We would therefore want to associate *non* with SpecNegP rather than Neg°. Consequently, *Jespersen's Generalisation* predicts, correctly (Posner (1984: 1), Winters (1987: 28, 30)), that Latin was a non-NC language. The claim that Latin *non*, adopted in Old French, was a phrasal constituent rather than a head is supported by the fact that sentence-initial *non*, when used emphatically in sentence-initial position in Old French, triggered inversion, as in (i). (See Posner (1985a) and references there.)

(i) Non fera il (Old French, Posner (1985a: 179, (12)))
 non do-FUT he-EMPH
 'He certainly won't do so.'

It seems plausible that, like Latin *non*, tonic *non* which survives in Modern French is also an XP (adverbial) element.

decade and a half is the *pro*-drop or null subject parameter⁸⁵.

Pro-drop is traditionally viewed as parametric variation in the (morphological) 'strength' of AgrS°. Languages in which AgrS° is morphologically strong are *pro*-drop; languages in which AgrS° is morphologically weak are not. In the original terms of Rizzi (1982: 42), strong AgrS° and, hence, (referential) *pro*-drop, amounted to [+PERSON] specification⁸⁶. One conclusion which it might be possible to draw is that the 'strong vs. weak AgrS°' distinction and, hence, the *pro*-drop parameter could be due to (cyclic) fluctuation of the underlying position of some abstract agreement feature, which we might label [AGR]. Thus, in *pro*-drop languages, it could be argued that AgrS° bears the feature [AGR] as an inherent or underlying property⁸⁷. This would correspond to 'strong AgrS°'. Significantly, in such a language, AgrS° is not reliant upon an overt specifier for the [AGR] feature, hence the null-subject nature of the language⁸⁸. In contrast, in non-*pro*-drop languages, [AGR] would *not* be borne by AgrS° underlyingly. In this second scenario, AgrS° could only be assigned the feature by association with an overt specifier, by DA, which is perfectly in keeping with our 'weak' version of the spec-head relation based on compatibility. This would correspond to 'weak AgrS°'. Consequently, subjects cannot be non-overt; overt subjects have to raise from SpecVP to SpecAgrSP; the language is non-*pro*-drop. Cyclic diachronic fluctuation between *pro*-drop and non-*pro*-drop could then be argued to be the result of an (abstract) 'Agreement Cycle' running alongside the familiar Negative Cycle. It seems to us that this is a potentially fruitful line of enquiry which deserves attention.

⁸⁵ We shall use the term *pro*-drop in the rest of the discussion without wishing to imply that we believe any pronoun deletion process is involved. See Rizzi (1982: 173fn1) and the studies in Jaeggli & Safir (eds.) (1989).

⁸⁶ Dupuis *et al.* (1992) suggest the relevant feature is [+NUMBER]. See footnote 87.

⁸⁷ Rizzi (1982: 131) calls this feature [+PRONOUN] and suggests that it is optionally borne by INFL (our AgrS°) in a *pro*-drop language such as Italian. As an alternative, however, Rizzi (1982: 176fn16) envisages the possibility that such a primitive feature may not be necessary and that, rather, the properties attributed to it could be a consequence of feature specifications as person and number, i.e., [AGR].

⁸⁸ Plausibly, the fact that *pro*-drop languages tend to allow free inversion (analysed as subjects *in situ* in SpecVP) could also be attributed to the fact that a strong AgrS° would not need an overt specifier to raise from SpecVP to SpecAgrSP in order for AgrS° to be associated with [AGR] features.

3.7.2 Summary

In the course of the preceding sections it was suggested that the pattern observed by Jespersen and referred to as the Negative Cycle amounts to cyclic to-ing and fro-ing of the *overt* realisation of sentential negation between the head and specifier of NegP. It was further suggested that the *abstract* realisation of sentential negation, i.e., the locus of the feature [+NEG], could also fluctuate in a similar, if not the same cyclic fashion (see footnote 46), and that this abstract cycle was possibly in the shadow, as it were, of the overt cycle.

This conclusion led us to reconsider the nature of the spec-head relationship. Instead of assuming an obligatory two-way dynamic process guaranteeing that the relevant features borne by specifier and head are identical, it was suggested that spec-head 'agreement' should be interpreted as nothing more than a process which makes sure that feature incompatibility is excluded. While this interpretation of spec-head agreement did not exclude the possibility, within NegP, of both SpecNegP and Neg° being positively specified for the feature [\pm NEG], it did make it possible to satisfy the Neg Criterion without specifier and head *necessarily* both bearing the feature [+NEG]. The importance of this move for our purposes was that it allowed the Neg Criterion to be satisfied without SpecNegP bearing the feature [+NEG].

The cross-linguistic variation that this allowed for then paved the way forward to an account of the (im)possibility of NC. In some languages, SpecNegP is specified [+NEG]; in others, it isn't. The empirical observation to be accounted for is that NC is generally unavailable in the first group of languages, available in the second. The account provided for this generalisation was a modified version of Progovac's (1994) analysis of NPI licensing, itself based on A'-binding. In the implementation proposed, inherently negative polarity items are seen as A'-anaphors which need, following Principle A of BT, to be bound within a given domain. It is assumed, with Progovac, that the relevant domain is NegP, with possible extension to AgrSP. Capitalising on Progovac's Generalised Principle A of BT which guarantees that binders are X'-compatible with bindees, it is concluded that the A'-binder of inherently negative NPIs is the polarity operator in SpecNegP, whose position there is guaranteed by the Neg Criterion. In non-NC languages, i.e., languages in which SpecNegP is specified [+NEG], co-occurrence of a negative marker and a negative NPI leads to DN because the former has scope over the latter.

In subsequent chapters, we build on the conclusions reached so far and consider the syntax of what Muller (1991) terms the French *semi-négations*, i.e., the 'negative' items, other than *pas*, which can co-occur with *ne*. Given our conclusion that Modern French

is a non-NC language, we shall assume that these items are not inherently negative. In chapter 4, we deal with adverbial *plus*, *jamais* and *guère*; in chapter 5, we deal with argumental *rien* and *personne*.

Other negative adverbs

4.1 Introduction

In our discussion of the syntax of sentential negation in Modern French so far, we have drawn a number of important distinctions. First, in chapter 1, section 1.3, we identified pre-verbal *ne* as being different in a number of crucial respects from elements such as *pas* often associated with it. Following most work since Pollock (1989) and Belletti (1990), we concluded that *ne* is the overt realisation of the head of a NegP projection generated below AgrSP and above TP. With respect to its inherent semantics, we argued that *ne* is not intrinsically negative.

Second, in chapter 2, we went on to identify *pas* as the core negative marker. This conclusion was reached on the basis of semantic and syntactic considerations. Semantically, *pas* contrasts with *ne* in being inherently negative. Syntactically, strong evidence was put forward suggesting that the base position of *pas* reflects its function. In one possible configuration, *pas* is an adverb and appears Chomsky-adjoined to the constituent over which it takes scope: [_{XP} *pas* XP]. In a second possible configuration, *pas* is a quantifier generated within a pseudo-partitive: [_{NumP} *pas* [de NP]]. As for the canonical superficial position of *pas*, namely SpecNegP in both cases, it was argued that this is largely determined by Haegeman & Zanuttini's (henceforth, H&Z's) Neg Criterion. It was seen that, under appropriate circumstances, the Neg Criterion – which, following Haegeman (1995), we assume applies universally at S-structure – obliges *pas* to raise to SpecNegP in order to license *ne*.

In chapter 3, we moved away from the exclusive consideration of negation in French and considered an observation made by Jespersen (1924) concerning the distinction between negative concord (henceforth, NC) languages and non-NC languages. Re-interpreting Jespersen's insight within current assumptions about clausal architecture, we concluded in section 3.3 that whether a given language is NC or non-NC is determined by the syntactic status of its regular negative marker: languages whose regular negative marker is generated under Neg° are NC languages; languages whose regular negative marker is associated with SpecNegP are non-NC languages. The generalisation captured was labelled *Jespersen's Generalisation*. Having formulated *Jespersen's Generalisation*

in structural terms, we went on to explain *Jespersen's Generalisation* within generalised A'-Binding Theory in section 3.5. With respect to Modern French, given that the principal negative marker, *pas*, is associated with SpecNegP, *Jespersen's Generalisation* predicts that the language is a non-NC language. It was argued that the diachronic data presented in section 3.6.2 suggested that this prediction was in fact well-founded. This is a conclusion which will have important implications for the discussion in these two final chapters.

Having dealt with *ne* (chapter 1) and the core negative marker *pas* (chapter 2), and concluded that Modern French is a non-NC language (chapter 3) we turn, in chapters 4 and 5, to what might be termed the periphery, i.e., 'negative' elements other than *pas*, which Muller (1991) labels 'semi-négations'. Having established an inventory of the relevant lexical items, we subdivide the group into two, considering here just the negative *adverbs* (*plus* 'no/any more', *jamais* '(n)ever', *guère* 'hardly'), leaving the negative *arguments* for chapter 5 (*rien* 'anything/nothing', *personne* 'anyone/no-one').

The present chapter is organised in the following way. In section 4.2, we distinguish between negative adverbs and arguments. After initial discussion of the distribution and interpretation of the adverbs in section 4.2, one feature of the data becomes clear, namely the far-reaching parallels between the distribution of these elements and that of *pas*. With this observation in mind, we consider some possible conclusions about the syntactic properties of negative adverbs, drawing heavily on those made in chapter 2 for *pas*. In particular, given that we analysed [_{XP} *pas*] in terms of Move- α , we assume, *a priori*, that it is probably best to approach the syntax of the negative adverbs in terms of XP movement as well. In section 4.3, we reconsider the data. Although it seemed, at first glance, warranted to throw negative adverbs into the same bag as *pas*, it becomes apparent that the distributional parallels are not total. First, the negative adverbs differ from *pas* in terms of their co-occurrence possibilities (section 4.3.1): negative adverbs can readily co-occur with each other but not – in the standard language, at least – with *pas* (with the relevant NC reading). Second, they differ in terms of the positions they can occupy with respect to infinitives (section 4.3.2): negative adverbs have a freer distribution than *pas*. These differences are taken into account when we come to our final conclusions in section 4.4. These conclusions exploit the discussion in chapter 3, especially section 3.6.2, and the conclusion that Modern French is a non-NC language. We interpret this as indicating that the negative adverbs (and the negative arguments discussed in chapter 5) are not in fact themselves inherently negative. Rather, it is suggested that they appear canonically with a single non-overt operator, Op, which, in contrast, *is* inherently negative. This, it

will be argued, allows a principled account of the differences between the negative adverbs and *pas*, as well as allowing us to maintain the conclusion (reached in chapter 3 on the basis of *Jespersen's Generalisation*) that Modern French is a non-NC language. In section 4.5, it will be demonstrated that the analysis proposed not only accounts for the data from standard Modern French, but is also supported by dialectal and diachronic data. A number of residual problems are addressed in section 4.6 and our conclusions are summarised in section 4.7.

4.2 Inventory: negative adverbs and arguments

The elements which will be of interest to us in this chapter include *plus* 'no/any more/longer', *jamais* '(n)ever' and *guère* 'hardly (ever)'. We assume, on the basis of their distributions, illustrated in (1c-e), that these elements, like *pas*, are all adverbs of some sort¹.

- (1) a. Paul sera riche
P. be-FUT rich
'P. will be rich.'
- b. Paul ne sera pas riche
P. ne be-FUT *pas* rich
'P. won't be rich.'
- c. Paul ne sera plus riche
P. ne be-FUT *plus* rich
'P. won't be rich any longer.'
- d. Paul ne sera jamais riche
P. ne be-FUT *jamais* rich
'P. won't ever be rich.'
- e. Paul ne sera guère riche
P. ne be-FUT *guère* rich
'P. will hardly be rich.'

In association, optionally, with *ne*, these elements modify a positive utterance, e.g., (1a), just like *pas* in (1b). We might assume therefore that the negative adverbs share the properties we attributed to *pas* in chapter 2, namely that they are XPs, base-generated in a relatively low position reflecting their scope over the predicate, and subsequently raised into SpecNegP to satisfy H&Z's (1991) Neg Criterion in (2) below. These assumptions will be explored in more detail and partially revised in sections 4.3 and 4.4.

¹ As discussed in chapter 1, section 1.3.4, pre-verbal *ne* is optionally dropped in most varieties of spoken French. See chapter 1, footnote 4 for references.

(2) *Neg Criterion:*

- a. Each Neg° must be in a spec-head relationship with a negative operator;
- b. Each negative operator must be in a spec-head relationship with a Neg°.

The data below further illustrate the parallel between these adverbs and *pas*.

- (3) a. Marie ne va **pas** être en retard
 b. Marie ne va **jamais** être en retard
 M. *ne* goes *pas/jamais* be-INF in lateness
 'M. won't (ever) be late.'
- (4) a. Jean-Philippe n' a **pas** lu de romans policiers depuis des années
 b. Jean-Philippe n' a **plus** lu de romans policiers depuis des années
 J.-P. *ne* has *pas/plus* read of novels detective since of-the years
 'J-P. hasn't read any (more) detective novels for years.'

In (3), *pas/jamais* intervenes between *va* (the finite form of *aller* 'to go') and the infinitive *être* 'to be'. In (4), *pas/plus* intervenes between *a* (the finite form of *avoir* 'to have') and the past participle *lu* 'read'². Note further that both *pas* and *plus* license the pseudo-partitive [_{NumP} Ø [de NP]] in (4)³.

In a purely intuitive sense, the parallel behaviour noted above between *pas* and the other adverbs may be attributable to the fact that all these items have a parallel function. Like *pas*, the negative adverbs are predicate-modifying functors. In terms of the distinction drawn by Di Sciullo & Williams (1986) between different types of modification, negative adverbs and *pas* modify the predicate by a mechanism of 'function composition'. Crucially, negative adverbs and *pas* do not affect the Θ -structure of the verb or VP with which they are associated. This contrasts with the negatives in the strings in (5):

² Gaatone (1971: 138) notes that, with a compound tense form, such as in (4), the adverb *jamais* may exceptionally follow the past participle. He labels this 'un effet de style recherché'.

- (i) Celle-ci n' avait ensuite conçu **jamais** qu' Albertine pût me
 She *ne* had then conceived *jamais* that A. could-IMP:SUBJ me
 quitter d' elle-même...
 leave-INF of her self
 'She had then never considered that A. might leave me on her own initiative...'
- (ii) Si bas que l' eût traîné **jamais** l' ingénieux ennemi, tout lien
 So low that him had-IMP:SUBJ dragged *jamais* the ingenious enemy, all link
 n' était pas rompu ni tout écho du dehors étouffé...
ne was *pas* broken nor all echo from-the outside deadened
 'As low as the ingenious enemy might ever have dragged him, no ties were
 ruptured and no sounds from outside blocked.'

We assume this is a relic from some earlier stage in the development of the language.

³ See chapter 2, section 2.3.1 for discussion of pseudo-partitives.

- (5) a. Paul ne mange rien
 P. *ne* eats *rien*
 'P. isn't eating anything.'
- b. Personne ne m' écrit plus
 personne ne me writes *plus*
 'No-one writes to me any more.'

In (5), *rien* and *personne* absorb a Θ -role assigned by the verb: the internal theme Θ -role of *manger* 'to eat' in (5a); the external agent Θ -role of *écrire* 'to write' in (5b). These elements therefore contribute to saturating the Θ -grid of the verbal predicate and are argumental in that sense. They bear Di Sciullo & Williams' (1986) modification relation of ' Θ -role satisfaction'. This, we assume, involves underlying association with an A-position. In contrast to the negative adverbs illustrated in (1c-e), *personne* and *rien* cannot therefore freely be 'added' to a clause to negate it. For this reason, we distinguish between the likes of adverbial (function compositional) *plus*, *jamais*, etc., and argumental (Θ -role satisfying) *rien* and *personne*, dealing with the former here and postponing consideration of the latter until chapter 5.

The translations of the examples in (1) show a clear *interpretative* distinction between *pas* and the negative adverbs. Whereas *pas* corresponds to the Boolean negative connective, \neg , the negative adverbs are interpreted as composite elements comprising \neg *plus something else*. In other words, the negative adverbs are interpreted as containing *pas*⁴. The negative adverb in (1c), i.e., *plus*, is interpreted as equivalent to an unmarked adverb of duration, e.g., *encore* 'still/yet', combined with *pas* ($= \neg$). In (1d), *jamais* is a lexicalised version of something like *toujours* 'always' combined with *pas*. In (1e), *guère* is a lexicalised equivalent of an adverb of extent or intensity combined with *pas*.

This informal analysis suggests two things. First, given our characterisation of the way *pas* is interpreted as \neg , it is not surprising that it plays a central role in negation in Modern French. In contrast to the negative adverbs, *pas* is atomic, an absolute negative. *Pas* is more central for the simple reason that it is more basic. This will be relevant below. Second, we might expect some relationship between the syntax of *pas* and the syntax of the negative adverbs given that the latter are interpreted as if they contain the

⁴ We emphasise that we are referring here exclusively to the way negative adverbs are *interpreted*. On the basis of the discussion so far, we are not in a position to decide whether the negative adverbs *themselves* are natural language equivalents of ' \neg plus something else'. As we shall see, we will be led to conclude that the negative interpretation these strings receive is due to co-occurrence with the non-overt negative operator, Op, rather than to any inherent negative property of the adverbs themselves.

former. We are not therefore surprised that, in (1c-e), (3b) and (4b), the negative adverbs behave in similar fashion to *pas* in (1b), (3a) and (4a) respectively. Tentatively, we might assume that the negative adverbs can be generated in either of the same two configurations discussed in chapter 2 in the context of *pas* and referred to in section 4.1 above, namely in an adjoined position or in SpecNumP within a pseudo-partitive. However, a strictly parallel analysis would lead us to predict that the distribution of *pas* is *identical* to the distribution of the negative adverbs. This prediction is, however, not borne out by the data, as shown in section 4.3. It will therefore not be possible to claim that the negative adverbs and *pas* are syntactically identical. A precise syntactic characterisation of the negative adverbs in question is proposed in section 4.4.

4.3 Distribution of negative adverbs

In addition to the semantic properties distinguishing *pas* from *plus*, *jamais* and *guère* discussed in the previous section, there are a number of distributional differences which show that the parallel suggested by the data in (1b-e), (3) and (4) is not complete. In section 4.3.1, we see that co-occurrence patterns distinguish *pas* from negative adverbs and arguments; in section 4.3.2, we show that negative adverbs have a freer distribution than *pas* with respect to infinitives.

4.3.1 Co-occurrence restrictions

The first difference between *pas* and the negative adverbs we shall consider is related to co-occurrence possibilities. As illustrated in (6a-c), the negative adverbs can – a certain number of lexical-item-specific restrictions notwithstanding (see (6d-f)) – co-occur with each other in the same clause, as well as with the negative arguments to be discussed in chapter 5 (see (7) and (8)), without leading to logical Double Negation (henceforth, DN)⁵.

⁵ The ungrammaticality of (6d) and (6f) indicates that *jamais* and *guère* are mutually incompatible. This could be due to the fact that both are adverbs of extent of one sort or another. The ungrammaticality of (6e) does not indicate mutual incompatibility between *plus* and *guère* since (6b) is acceptable. See Muller (1991: 269) for a tabular representation of the co-occurrence possibilities of pairs of negative adverbials. Note that Muller only considers *pairs* of negative adverbials. He does not consider n-tuples where $n \neq 2$ such as our examples in (8).

In (i), whose grammaticality represents an apparent counterexample to (6e), only *guère* is interpreted in association with *ne*. The element *plus* is a positive element, common in comparatives. We are grateful to Bernadette Plunkett for pointing out the relevance of this example.

- (6) a. Paul ne verra plus jamais son père
P. *ne see-FUT plus jamais* his father
'P. won't ever see his father again.'
- b. Paul ne verra plus guère son père
P. *ne see-FUT plus guère* his father
'P. won't see much of his father any more.'
- c. Paul ne verra jamais plus son père
P. *ne see-FUT jamais plus* his father
'P. will never see his father again.'
- d. ★Paul ne verra jamais guère son père
- e. ★Paul ne verra guère plus son père
- f. ★Paul ne verra guère jamais son père
- (7) Paul ne verra jamais personne
P. *ne see-FUT jamais personne*
'P. will never see anyone.'
- (8) a. Paul ne verra plus jamais rien
P. *ne see-FUT plus jamais rien*
'P. won't ever see anything again.'
- b. Paul ne verra plus guère personne
P. *ne see-FUT plus guère personne*
'P. won't see much of anyone any more.'
- c. Paul ne verra jamais plus rien
P. *ne see-FUT jamais plus rien*
'P. will never see anything again.'

In sharp contrast, the distribution of *pas* is more restricted in that it cannot (in standard metropolitan Modern French, at least) be a clausemate with any of the negative adverbs with an NC reading^{6,7}.

-
- (i) Paul ne voit son grand-père guère plus qu' il ne voit sa grand-mère.
P. *ne sees* his grandfather *guère plus* that he *ne sees* his grandmother
'P. doesn't see his grandfather much more than (he sees) his grandmother.'

⁶ Of course, *pas* can co-occur with negative adverbs to produce logical DN, as in (10). The only exceptions to the generalisation given in the text for standard metropolitan Modern French are strings of the basic pattern *Pas un(e) (seul(e)) N ne VP*, as in (i), in which a negative adverb may be associated with the verb:

- (i) a. Pas une seule proposition n' a jamais été acceptée
pas a single suggestion *ne has jamais* been accepted
'Not a single suggestion has ever been accepted.'
- b. Pas un seul étudiant ne désire plus venir me voir
pas a single student *ne wants plus* come-INF me see-INF
'Not a single student wants to come and see me any more.'

Nominal expressions with the general structure *pas un(e) N* cannot generally be treated in the same way as other uses of *pas*. Indeed, Vikner (1978: 88) lists *pas un(e)* as a negative

- (9) a. ★Paul ne verra jamais pas son père
 b. ★Paul ne verra pas plus son père

(10) [*]Paul ne voit pas rien^{8,9,10}

(DN)

This state of affairs leaves us with something of a problem. Given the parallels between *pas* and the negative adverbs already discussed, we could conclude that, like *pas*, the elements *plus*, *jamais*, *guère*, etc., are also inherently negative. The grammatical strings in (6)-(8) would then represent examples of NC, familiar from the discussion in chapter 3. However, given the syntactic nature of the principal negative marker in Modern French, i.e., *pas*, which is associated with SpecNegP rather than being generated under Neg°, we concluded in the discussion of *Jespersen's Generalisation* in chapter 3 that French is a non-NC language. As such, we expect multiple occurrences of negative elements in the same minimal clause to lead to logical DN. Yet, in the text examples above, the interpretation is clearly not DN. In order to maintain our conclusions from chapter 3 and our analysis of the diachronic development of sentential negation in French, we must assume that the negative adverbs discussed above (as well as the negative arguments to be discussed in chapter 5) are not in fact themselves inherently negative. As such, negative adverbs are not polarity-reversing items and we do not therefore expect logical DN in the examples. This conclusion will be exploited in interesting ways in section 4.4.2 below.

item distinct from bare *pas*. Therefore, the acceptability of the examples in (i) is not entirely unexpected.

⁷ As mentioned in footnote 4 above, the (non-negative) homograph of the negative adverb *plus* which is commonly used in comparatives can be negated using *pas*:

- (i) Il n' y aura pas plus d' une centaine de personnes à la fête
 it ne there-CL have-FUT *pas plus* of a hundred of people at the party
 'There won't be more than a hundred or so people at the party.'

See also footnote 9.

⁸ [*] is the symbol used by Moritz & Valois (1994) to indicate that logical DN is the only possible interpretation.

⁹ This restriction did not apply in earlier stages of the language. Grevisse (1986: 1485, §979) points out that, 'à l'époque classique' (roughly the seventeenth century), *pas* could co-occur with *personne* and *rien*, for example, without producing logical DN. See chapter 3, sections 3.2.1, 3.2.2 & 3.6.2 as well as section 4.4.2 below for a discussion of the synchronic development of the system of sentential negation in French. See also chapter 3, footnote 5 for references.

¹⁰ Québécois does not show the restriction illustrated in text example (10). This will be relevant to our discussion in section 4.5.2.1 below.

What can we conclude about the syntactic nature of negative adverbs on the basis of their distributions? Exploiting the informal idea that the negative adverbs are interpreted as if they 'contain' *pas*, it would seem that, when used in isolation, a negative adverb is interpreted negatively, i.e., as $\neg [\alpha]$ ¹¹. However, when negative adverbs are combined, the negative, i.e., polarity-reversing, content ($= \neg$) is not repeated. Thus, when two co-occur, as in (6a), the interpretation is something along the lines of:

$$(11) \neg [\alpha [\beta]];$$

when three co-occur, as in (8a), the interpretation is:

$$(12) \neg [\alpha [\beta [\gamma]]].$$

Crucially, the interpretation of (6a) is not:

$$(13) \neg [\alpha [\neg [\beta]]]$$

since this would lead to the unattested logical DN. Similarly, the interpretation of (8a) would not be:

$$(14) \neg [\alpha [\neg [\beta [\neg [\gamma]]]]].$$

The fact, then, that these elements are semantically complex seems to be reflected in syntactic structure. Were this not the case, the interpretations discussed above could not be explained. If *plus* or *jamais* were syntactically monolithic negatives, we would expect their co-occurrence in a non-NC language like French to result in polarity reversal, contrary to fact. The interpretation of the combination of more than one adverb is not the sum of the interpretation of each one individually. The non-negative semantic content of the adverbs enjoys limited independence which allows it to 'combine' with another adverb. The single instance of negation, \neg , then has scope over all the lexical adverbs present. We shall explore a formal mechanism which could be used to account for this in sections 4.4.3 and 4.4.4.

Of course, what this does not explain is why the adverbs cannot co-occur with the *overt* negative marker *pas* (with the relevant interpretation), as indicated by the ungrammaticality of (9). We address this restriction in section 4.5.2. Before we develop

¹¹ In this paragraph, α , β and γ represent the semantic content of each negative adverb minus the negation itself.

in detail a syntactic analysis of negative adverbs, we need to consider a second distributional difference which distinguishes negative adverbs from *pas*. That difference is with respect to linear order.

4.3.2 Linear order

In addition to the co-occurrence restrictions illustrated in the previous section, which suggest that the distribution of *pas* is more restricted than that of the negative adverbs, there are differences in linear order which, once again, show the distribution of *pas* to be less flexible than that of the negative adverbs. The differences discussed here are in relation to the possible positions negative adverbs can occupy with respect to infinitives. As we shall see, the data support the informal conclusion reached in the previous section, i.e., that negative adverbs are both semantically and syntactically complex, and that the non-negative content of these items enjoys a limited independence from the negation (\neg) itself.

Reinforcing the examples in (1)-(4) above, the data in (15)-(20) show that, where a verb is finite, it must precede all 'negative' adverbs, irrespective of the nature of the adverb or the verb:

- (15) Marc n' est pas à la hauteur de la tâche (copular *être* + *pas*)
 M. ne is pas at the height of the task
 'M. isn't up to the job.'
- (16) Myriam ne serait jamais venue si... (auxiliary *être* + *pas*)
 M. ne be-COND jamais come if
 'M. would never have come if...'
- (17) Marie n' aura plus vingt ans (possessive *avoir* + *plus*)
 M. ne have-FUT plus twenty years
 'M. will no longer be twenty years old.'
- (18) Alain n' a guère eu de devoirs à faire depuis... (auxiliary *avoir* + *guère*)
 A. ne has guère had of homework to do-INF since
 'A. has hardly had any homework to do since...'
- (19) Elise ne pouvait plus marcher (modal verb + *plus*)
 E. ne could plus walk-INF
 'E. could no longer walk.'
- (20) Jean ne passerait jamais pour un Français (lexical verb + *jamais*)
 J. ne pass-COND jamais for a Frenchman
 'J. would never pass for a Frenchman.'

In our discussion of Verb Movement in chapter 1, section 1.2, we followed Pollock

(1989) and Belletti (1990) in assuming that finite verbs in French move in the syntax from their base position to the highest functional head encoding verbal inflectional morphology, which we identified as AgrS°. The data in (15)-(20) show therefore that the canonical position(s) occupied by *pas* and the negative adverbs is/are lower than AgrS°. In chapters 1 and 2, we followed Pollock (1989) in assuming that the S-structure position of *pas* is SpecNegP, which is indeed below AgrS°.

Turning to negative adverbs, our null hypothesis will, of course, be that these elements also occupy SpecNegP. On the basis of the data with respect to finite verb paradigms reviewed so far, we have no reason to assume otherwise. However, if we consider infinitives (which, following the discussion in chapter 1, sections 1.2.7.2-1.2.7.4, we assume do not necessarily occupy AgrS°), we find evidence to suggest that the null hypothesis is in fact wrong. In other words, the evidence suggests that negative adverbs do not *necessarily* occupy SpecNegP. The evidence comes in the form of possible orderings of infinitives with respect to negative adverbs and *pas*, and the picture is quite complex. Before reviewing the data, we remind ourselves of the conclusions we drew about infinitival Verb Movement in Modern French. These were summarised in chapter 1, section 1.2.7.5 and are repeated here for convenience:

- (21) *Overt Verb Movement patterns in French:*
- a. All finite verbs move to AgrS°.
 - b'. Infinitival auxiliaries (*être*, *avoir*) freely move to Mood°, T° or AgrS°.
 - b''. Infinitival modal verbs (*pouvoir*, *devoir*, etc.) move to Mood° or T°, *and only exceptionally to AgrS°*.
 - b'''. Infinitival lexical verbs move to Mood° or T°, but not as far as AgrS°.

Of relevance to the discussion below will be the movement patterns of infinitives in (21b')-(21b''').

In the case of the infinitival auxiliaries, *être* and *avoir*, all negative adverbs (*pas* and the negative adverbs) can either precede or follow the verb, as in (22) and (23), after Pollock (1989: 373, (15)).

- (22) a. Ne pas/plus être heureux est une condition pour...
 b. N' être pas/plus heureux est une condition pour...
 ne (be-INF) *pas/plus* (be-INF) happy is a condition for
 'Not/No longer being happy is a condition for...'
- (23) a. Ne pas/guère avoir d' enfance heureuse est une condition...
 b. N' avoir pas/guère d' enfance heureuse est une condition...
 ne (have-INF) *pas/guère* (have-INF) of childhood happy is a condition...
 'Not/Hardly having a happy childhood is a condition...'

According to Grevisse (1986: 1488, §980), in 'la langue ordinaire', the norm is for the negative adverb to precede the infinitival auxiliary, as in (22a) and (23a), while, in 'la langue soignée', the negative adverb may follow the infinitival auxiliary, as in (22b) and (23b). Given our conclusion that *pas* occupies SpecNegP in (22) and (23), and our assumptions in (21b') above about the movement of infinitival auxiliaries, it would seem that there are stylistic implications associated with movement of an infinitival auxiliary from T° (over *pas*) into AgrS°¹².

With regard to the issue at hand, namely the possible position(s) of negative adverbs such as *plus* and *guère* in (22) and (23), given the flexibility of the infinitival auxiliaries, i.e., the fact that they can freely occupy Mood°, T° or AgrS°, no firm conclusions can be drawn on the basis of these data.

In the case of infinitival *modals*¹³, the situation is more complex. Where an infinitival modal is negated by *pas*, the preferred order is for the adverb to precede the verb, as in (24a)-(26a). However, the reverse order is not regarded as ungrammatical. Pollock (1989: 375; 1993: 7) judges examples (24b)-(26b) (based on Pollock's (1989: 375, (20))) to be 'somewhat marginal' and 'more exceptional', suggesting that they have 'a very literary ring to them'. (Grevisse (1986: 1487, §980) also mentions the possibility of *pas* following an infinitive when the infinitive is itself followed by another infinitive, e.g., a modal in Pollock's terms.) Indeed, the pattern in (24)-(26) formed the basis of our conclusion, given in (21b''), that modal infinitives only exceptionally raise from T° (over *pas*) to AgrS°.

- (24) a. Je pensais ne **pas pouvoir** dormir dans cette chambre
 b. ?Je pensais ne **pouvoir pas** dormir dans cette chambre
 I thought *ne* (be-able-INF) *pas* (be-able-INF) sleep-INF in this room
 'I thought I couldn't sleep in this bedroom.'
- (25) a. Il estimait ne **pas devoir** donner suite à ma demande
 b. ?Il estimait ne **devoir pas** donner suite à ma demande
 he thought *ne* (must-INF) *pas* (must-INF) give-INF continuation to my request
 'He thought he wouldn't have to answer my request.'

¹² In similar vein to Grevisse's comments, but in reference to infinitivals in general and not just infinitival auxiliaries, Gaatone (1971: 138) suggests that *jamais* usually precedes infinitivals, and only follows them 'dans le style littéraire'; he also claims (1971: 149) that post-infinitival *plus* is less common than pre-infinitival *plus*.

¹³ Pollock uses *vouloir* 'to want', *devoir* 'to have to' and *pouvoir* 'to be able' as examples of 'modal' verbs.

- (26) a. Il avait dit ne **pas vouloir** donner suite à ma demande
 b. ?Il avait dit ne **vouloir pas** donner suite à ma demande
 he had said *ne* (want-INF) *pas* (want-INF) give-INF continuation to my request
 'He had said ne didn't want to answer my request.'

What is interesting and significant about negation and infinitival modals is that, if *pas* is removed from the (b) examples in (24)-(26) and replaced with a negative adverb, the judgements change. While the ordering *modal infinitive* + *pas* is judged 'somewhat marginal'/'more exceptional'/'very literary', the ordering *modal infinitive* + *plus/guère/jamais* is not:

- (27) a. Je pensais ne **plus pouvoir** dormir dans cette chambre
 b. Je pensais ne **pouvoir plus** dormir dans cette chambre
 I thought *ne* (be-able-INF) *plus* (be-able-INF) sleep-INF in this room
 'I thought I would no longer be able to sleep in this bedroom.'
- (28) a. Il estimait ne **guère devoir** donner suite à ma demande
 b. Il estimait ne **devoir guère** donner suite à ma demande
 he thought *ne* (must-INF) *guère* (must-INF) give-INF continuation to my request
 'He had thought he would hardly have to answer my request.'
- (29) a. Il disait ne **jamais vouloir** donner suite à ma demande
 b. Il disait ne **vouloir jamais** donner suite à ma demande
 he said *ne* (want-INF) *jamais* (want-INF) give-INF continuation to my request
 'He had said he never wanted to answer my request.'

The important contrast is shown in (30), in which *devoir* stands for modal infinitives in general and *plus* stands for negative adverbs in general:

- (30) a. ?ne devoir pas
 b. ne devoir plus

In other words, a modal infinitive followed by *pas* is 'somewhat marginal', 'more exceptional' and has a 'very literary ring' to it, as indicated by the question mark in (30a). The same is not true of sequences of a modal infinitive followed by a negative adverb. What is to be made of this contrast? In chapter 2, we showed that *pas* occupies SpecNegP where that position is available. Failure to do so leads to ungrammaticality in the modern language. Given that the strings in (24b)-(26b) are merely somewhat marginal and not ungrammatical as such, we assume that, in these examples, *pas* occupies SpecNegP as required. The position of *pas* in the structure is not, therefore, the reason for the marginal status of these strings. Their marginality is then due to the position of the infinitival verb to the left of *pas*, i.e., in AgrS°.

As for (27b)-(29b), these examples are not marginal, despite the fact that the infinitival modal precedes the negative adverb. Consequently, we assume that the infinitival modal has not raised into AgrS°. Assume, for concreteness, that the verb occupies the immediately lower inflectional head position, namely T°. Where does this analysis leave us with respect to the negative adverbs? Clearly these cannot occupy SpecNegP. If they did, they would precede the verb in T°, which they do not. So where are they? There are two possibilities. First, they could occupy a lower position in the same clause, as illustrated in (31) (= (28b)), e.g., a lower specifier position or an adjoined position. If this analysis is along the right lines (as we shall ultimately conclude), this shows a major difference between *pas* and the negative adverbs. While *pas* needs to occupy SpecNegP at S-structure, negative adverbs do not.

(31) [_{AgrSP} [_{NegP} [_{TP} [_{T°} devoir] guère [_{MoodP} [_{VP} [_{CP} donner [_{VP} ...]]]]]]] (= (28b))

The second possible position for the negative adverbs in (27b)-(29b) to occupy (assuming a biclausal structure for the examples in (27)-(29)) would be SpecNegP in the lower clause. This would entail positing a clause boundary between the infinitival modal and the negative adverb in (27b)-(29b), as illustrated in (32), but would allow us to maintain the generalisation that negative adverbs and *pas* occupy SpecNegP.

(32) [_{AgrSP} [_{NegP} [_{TP} [_{T°} devoir] .. [_{CP} .. [_{NegP} guère [_{MoodP} donner [_{VP}]]]]]] (= (28b))

An argument in support of this second scenario could be advanced if, in each pair of examples in (27)-(29), there was a difference in interpretation between the (a) string and the (b) string, i.e., if the negative took scope over the infinitival modal verb in the (a) examples while taking scope over the (embedded) infinitival lexical verb *only* in the (b) examples (or was at least ambiguous with respect to scope). That is to say, for this second possibility to be taken seriously, it would have to be possible to interpret (27b)-(29b) (repeated here as (33a)-(35a) for convenience) as being synonymous with (33b)-(35b), in which the lower infinitival clause is negated:

- (33) a. Je pensais **ne pouvoir plus dormir** dans cette chambre
b. Je pensais **pouvoir ne plus dormir** dans cette chambre

- (34) a. Il avait estimé **ne devoir guère donner** suite à ma demande
b. Il avait estimé **devoir ne guère donner** suite à ma demande

- (35) a. Il avait dit **ne vouloir jamais donner** suite à ma demande
b. Il avait dit **vouloir ne jamais donner** suite à ma demande

But the necessary interpretations are not available. The strings in (33a)-(35a) are not synonymous with those in (33b)-(35b), as illustrated, for example, by the glosses to (35a/b) given in (36a/b) below. This lack of synonymy is initial evidence undermining the plausibility of the second *a priori* possible scenario mentioned above.

- (36) a. He said he had never wanted to answer my request
 b. He said he had wanted never to answer my request

Further evidence to undermine the plausibility of the second analysis of the examples in (27b)-(29b) comes from sentences such as those in (37). These sentences contain the infinitival modal *vouloir* 'to want' with a *finite* CP complement. Crucially, the negative adverb *jamais* intervenes between *vouloir* and the complementiser, *que*, presumably heading CP. It is therefore implausible to claim that the adverb appears in the lower clause.

- (37) Il avait dit ne vouloir jamais qu' elle parte
 he had said *ne* want-INF *jamais* that she leave-SUBJ
 'He had said he never wanted her to leave.'

With respect to interpretation, the string in (37) is admittedly ambiguous. It can be interpreted synonymously with (38), as if NEG-raising had taken place, i.e., as if the negative adverb had been base-generated in the lower clause and raised into the higher clause¹⁴.

- (38) Il avait dit vouloir qu' elle ne parte jamais
 he had said want-INF that she *ne* leave-SUBJ *jamais*
 'He had said that he didn't want her ever to leave.'

Alternatively, (37) can be interpreted as if NEG-raising had not taken place, i.e., as if the negative adverb was base-generated in the higher clause. This ambiguity is not a problem; the important point for our purposes here is that, in (37), the negative adverb occupies a position in the higher clause which is crucially not SpecNegP since it is to the right of the infinitival modal in T°. We are therefore obliged to accept the first of the two analyses given above, and we conclude that, unlike *pas*, negative adverbs do not have to occupy SpecNegP at S-structure.

¹⁴ For discussion of NEG-raising, see de Cornulier (1973; 1974), Daoust-Blais & Kemp (1979), Fillmore (1963), Forest (1983), Horn (1978a/b; 1989), Iordanskaja (1986), Lakoff (1969), Prince (1976) and Shlonsky (1989).

Before moving on from infinitival modals and turning to lexical infinitives, let us review one final reason to reject the second analysis above, i.e., that, in (27b)-(29b), the negative adverbs occupy SpecNegP in the embedded clause. If the adverbs in (27b)-(29b) are in a lower SpecNegP, there is no reason to assume that such a position cannot also be occupied by *pas*. Yet the judgements in (24b)-(26b) show that this is not possible. Consequently, it is unlikely to be the case in (27b)-(29b)¹⁵.

So, let us now turn our attention to infinitival full lexical verbs. In such structures, *pas* must precede the verb, as in the grammatical examples (39a) and (40a), taken from Pollock (1989: 374, (16)), the reverse order in (39b) and (40b) being ungrammatical (outside literary language with a certain archaic flavour to it (Grevisse (1986: 1487, §980))):

- (39) a. Ne pas sembler heureux est une condition pour...
 b. ★Ne sembler pas heureux est une condition pour...
 ne (seem-INF) *pas* (seem-INF) happy is a condition for
 ‘Not appearing happy is a condition for...’
- (40) a. Ne pas posséder de voiture en banlieue rend la vie difficile
 b. ★Ne posséder pas de voiture en banlieue rend la vie difficile
 ne (possess-INF) *pas* (possess-INF) of car in suburb makes the life difficult
 ‘Not having a car (while living) in the suburbs makes life difficult.’

Maintaining our assumption that, in the grammatical (39a) and (40a), *pas* occupies SpecNegP, the lexical infinitive must occupy a lower functional head position in these examples, either Mood° or T°. The ungrammatical status of (39b) and (40b) could be explained in two ways. First, with the verb in T° or Mood°, it could be that *pas* has not raised to SpecNegP, leading to a violation of the Neg Criterion since *ne* would not be licensed. Second, if *pas* is indeed in SpecNegP, the verb would need to have raised from T° to AgrS°, which we therefore assume to be impossible, as indicated in (21b’’).

But what about when a negative adverb is used to negate the lexical infinitive instead of *pas*? Here, the distribution is freer, and both relative orderings are equally acceptable, although the adverb most commonly precedes the infinitive.

¹⁵ In chapter 1, section 1.3.5 we discussed the licensing conditions of pre-verbal *ne*. We concluded that ‘negative’ *ne* can only be licensed by an S-structure spec-head configuration with a negative operator in SpecNegP. This too would undermine the second possibility entertained in the text. If *pas* could occupy an embedded SpecNegP position, we would not expect *ne* to be licensed in the matrix clause since no negative operator would occupy the matrix SpecNegP in order to satisfy the licensing conditions of the Neg°.

- (41) a. Ne **jamais sembler** heureux est une condition pour...
 b. Ne **sembler jamais** heureux est une condition pour...
ne (seem-INF) *jamais* (seem-INF) happy is a condition for
 'Never appearing happy is a condition for...'
- (42) a. Ne **plus posséder** de voiture en banlieue rend la vie difficile
 b. Ne **posséder plus** de voiture en banlieue rend la vie difficile
ne (possess-INF) *plus* (possess-INF) of car in suburb makes the life difficult
 'No longer having a car (while living) in the suburbs makes life difficult.'

In (41a) and (42a), we assume that the adverb occupies SpecNegP and the verb occupies T°. Given our conclusion above that lexical infinitives cannot raise from T° to AgrS°, we further assume that, in (41b) and (42b), the verb occupies a position no higher than T°. This being the case, the post-verbal negative adverb cannot occupy SpecNegP in these sentences. Rather, it must occupy a lower position. This is then further evidence to suggest that the syntax of negative adverbs is less strict than the syntax of *pas*. While the latter must appear in SpecNegP at S-structure, the former are not obliged to do so.

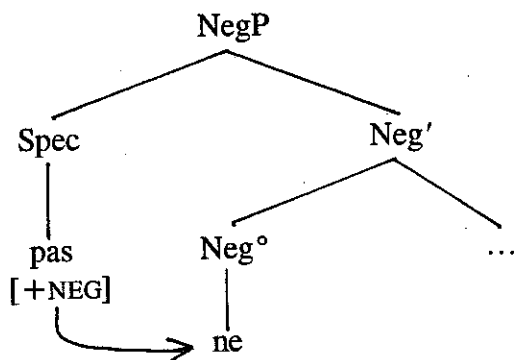
In the next section, we consider a syntactic analysis of the negative adverbs. Before we do that, we remind ourselves of the empirical questions we expect our analysis to answer. Briefly, we need to explain: (a) why, in standard metropolitan Modern French, negative adverbs (and negative arguments) can freely co-occur with each other without leading to logical DN but not with *pas*; and, (b) why, in the specific context of infinitival clauses, the distribution of the negative adverbs is more flexible than that of *pas*. More specifically, why is it that, in contrast to *pas*, negative adverbs are not obliged to occupy SpecNegP?

4.4 The syntactic status of *jamais*, *plus*, *guère*

4.4.1 Preliminary remarks

In chapter 2, section 2.2, we concluded that, where *pas* is used to negate a clause containing an intransitive verb, [_{XP} *pas*] bears the feature [+NEG], is generated VP-adjoined, and raises to SpecNegP in the syntax to license *ne*. Maintaining our assumption from chapter 1, section 1.3.4 that *ne* is not inherently negative, we assume that DA transmits the feature [+NEG] from the negative operator in SpecNegP to the Neg head, as illustrated in (43). This is in line with Haegeman's (1995: 107) minimal assumption that negative clauses are characterised by the presence of the feature [+NEG] on a functional head in the extended domain of V.

(43)



Dynamic
Agreement

So what about the negative adverbs? In what way does (43) have to be modified in order to account for their syntax? Before considering this, let us decide what needs to remain constant. First, sentences containing a negative adverb can appear with *ne*, as we have already seen. Given that we have not had to posit more than one kind of *ne* so far, we shall assume that the *ne* which appears with negative adverbs is the same *ne* we considered in chapter 1, sections 1.3.2, 1.3.4 & 1.3.5, i.e., the one which appears with *pas* and ‘expletive’ *ne*. Remember that *ne* is not inherently negative. In the case of ‘expletive’ *ne*, it is never associated with negative features and is licensed by some indirect extended selection mechanism from a superordinate predicate; in the case of the *ne* which co-occurs with *pas*, it is licensed, and ‘acquires’ its ‘negativity’, by DA, from the inherently negative *pas* in SpecNegP at S-structure, as in (43).

Second, there is no reason to suppose that sentences containing negative adverbs are any less ‘negative’ than sentences containing *pas*. Under the assumptions we have made so far (Haegeman (1995: 107)), this means that, one way or another, a functional head within the extended domain of V will bear the feature [+NEG] at S-structure. The null hypothesis must be that it is in fact Neg° which bears this feature, i.e., *ne* (with possible raising to AgrS° – see Acquaviva (1994)). Since: (a) *ne* is not itself negative; (b) SpecNegP is not occupied by *pas*; (c) as we saw in section 4.3.2 above, the negative adverbs are not obliged to raise into SpecNegP; and, (d) we are assuming that *ne* needs to be licensed and the Neg Criterion applies at S-structure in Modern French; we can only conclude that it is some non-overt operator which occupies SpecNegP at S-structure and which, given DA, transmits its [+NEG] feature to Neg°, thus ensuring that the sentence is interpreted as being negative. Of course, for this to be possible, the non-overt operator in SpecNegP must itself be specified [+NEG]. In fact, we shall assume that this non-overt negative operator is the same element, noted simply as Op, which we encountered in

chapter 1, section 1.3.4 and exploited to account for the interpretation of the examples in (44) and (45):

- (44) a. Je n' osais venir
 I *ne* dared come-inf
 'I didn't dare come.'
- b. [_{AgrSP} Je n'osais [_{NegP} Op [_{Neg'} ... venir]]]
- (45) a. Jean ne voit que Marie
 J. *ne* sees *que* M.
 'J. can only see M.'
- b. [_{AgrSP} Jean ne voit [_{NegP} Op [_{Neg'} ... que M.]]]

Before speculating further into possible syntactic characterisations of negative adverbs, it is insightful to consider how they relate to *ne* and *pas* diachronically.

4.4.2 The development of sentential negation in French

In order to understand the nature of the relationship between *ne*, *pas* and the negative adverbs, we need to appreciate something of the way the system of sentential negation in Modern French has evolved (discussed in chapter 3, sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2). As discussed by Grevisse (1986: 1477, §973), Harris (1978: 23-9), Winters (1987: 28-30, 33-47) and, in more recent theoretical work, by Pearce (1990; 1991; 1993), the canonically post-verbal markers of negation in the modern language, i.e., the negative adverbs/arguments and *pas*, were not originally negative. Rather, they were nouns denoting small amounts which came to reinforce *non/ne*: they were essentially emphatic elements (Posner (1985a: 184)). This development took place during the Middle French period from the twelfth century onwards (Harris (1978: 25))¹⁶.

The development has been accounted for on both phonological and syntactic grounds and, in both accounts, the trigger can be seen as the initial grammaticalisation/weakening of *non/ne*, i.e., its (re)analysis as Neg°. On the phonological level, it has been suggested that phonetic weakening of the pre-verbal marker left it incapable of marking sentential negation on its own. Since it had not been possible to use *non* with a finite lexical verb since the early Old French period (according to Grevisse (1986: 1477, §973)), another strategy needed to be developed to mark/reinforce sentential negation. On the syntactic level, the immobility of the pre-verbal marker, i.e., the very fact that it was always pre-verbal, meant that it was interpretatively inflexible. Negation expressed by the pre-verbal

¹⁶ See also the discussion in chapter 3, section 3.6.2 and references there.

marker alone was always interpreted as an instance of absolute negation. In other words, the entire propositional content of the clause was being denied. It could not be used for local constituent negation (Grevisse (1986: 1482, §977), i.e., to negate a sub-clausal unit, such as a purpose clause. Since the post-verbal markers of negation were distributionally more flexible, their position *could* indicate the part of the proposition being negated.

Whatever the reason was, French followed Jespersen's Negative Cycle, with the erstwhile emphatic post-verbal elements, and *pas* in particular, arguably losing their original (positive) value. They then came to carry clausal negation alone, with the pre-verbal negative marker *ne* subsequently and increasingly often being absent from spoken language, especially in interrogatives, by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Harris (1978: 26)) and, according to Price (1993: 191), at least, as early as the thirteenth century. In fact, the tendency for bipartite sentential negation to be replaced by single (post-verbal) sentential negation using *pas* is now so strong that, as we argued in chapter 1, in the modern language, the erstwhile exclusive bearer of sentential negation, i.e., pre-verbal *ne*, has lost whatever inherent negativity it had. Whatever negative interpretation can be assigned to this element is therefore due to its association with some other element marked [+NEG], e.g., *pas*. The link between *ne* and negation in Modern French is therefore indirect to say the least. Of course, by virtue: (a) of the licensing conditions assumed for *ne* in chapter 1, section 1.3.5; (b) the analysis of *pas* proposed in chapter 2; and, (c) the nature of the spec-head relationship inherent in the Neg Criterion proposed in chapter 3, section 3.4, we have the means by which [+NEG] can be transmitted from *pas* to *ne* by DA (following movement of *pas* to SpecNegP).

The mechanism invoked above, i.e., feature-sharing via spec-head agreement, is the basic mechanism we would like to exploit to account for the syntax of negative adverbs. We would like to claim that *pas* is the only post-verbal 'negative' element in the standard modern language to be inherently marked [+NEG]. In contrast, the adverbs we have discussed in this chapter are not marked in this way. What we are claiming with respect to negative adverbs is supported by a number of facts, some of which have been reviewed above. First, 'negative' adverbs still have some non-negative uses. For example, *jamais* and *plus* (without *ne*, even in registers not characterised by 'ne-drop') are stylistic variants of *un jour/en un temps quelconque* 'one day'/'some time or other' or *encore* 'still' respectively (Gaatone (1971: 139, 151)):

- (46) a. Je ne crois pas que cet homme revienne jamais
 I ne believe pas that this man return-SUBJ jamais
 'I don't think that man is ever coming back.'

- b. *À jamais*
to *jamais*
'For ever.'
- c. Si *jamais* tu reviens à Paris, ...
if *jamais* you return to P
'If you're ever back in Paris, ...'

Second, as illustrated above, 'negatives' can co-occur without negation being cancelled. In contrast, they cannot co-occur with *pas* and retain a negative interpretation.

Instead of being lexically marked [+NEG], we would like to claim that the negative interpretation of the adverbs is to be attributed to the fact that they appear in the scope of an inherently [+NEG] operator. Of course, in standard metropolitan Modern French, this inherently [+NEG] operator cannot be *pas*, otherwise some deletion process would need to be invoked to make sure *pas* does not surface in the syntax together with the adverb¹⁷. However, given the account of sentences such as (44) and (45) above proposed in chapter 1, section 1.3.4, and the A'-binding approach to NPI licensing adopted and modified in chapter 3, section 3.5.2, we have an immediately obvious candidate, namely Op¹⁸. To account for these data while maintaining our conclusion that *ne* is not inherently negative in the modern language, we attributed the negative interpretation to a non-overt inherently negative operator: Op. Pre-verbal *ne* then acquires the [+NEG] feature from Op as a consequence of the mechanism by which *ne* is formally licensed, namely DA. Op is of course identical to *pas*, apart from the fact that it is non-overt. In the next section, we exploit Op and flesh out an analysis of negative adverbs.

4.4.3 Structural analysis

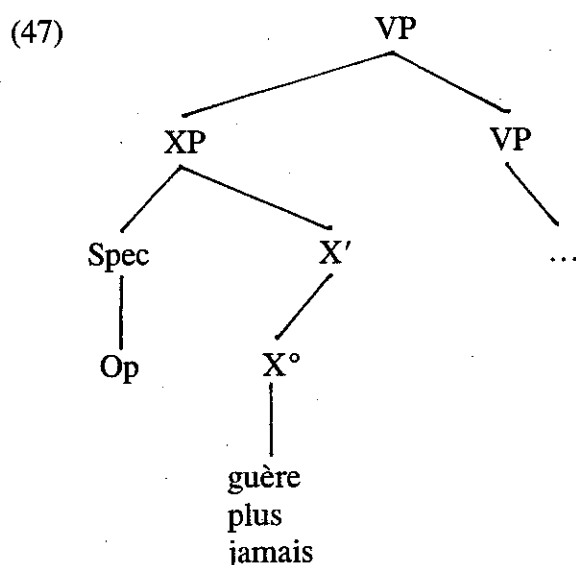
Restricting our attention for the time being to contexts without pseudo-partitive direct objects, we shall assume that negative adverbs are generated in an adjoined position. This was the conclusion we came to in chapter 2, section 2.2 with respect to *pas* and we see no reason why the same is not the case for the negative adverbs, especially in view of our characterisation of the negative adverbs with respect to Di Sciullo & Williams' (1986) distinction between different types of modification. If *pas* produces a composite function

¹⁷ Such a deletion-based analysis is in fact proposed for Standard Modern French in Escure (1974).

¹⁸ In Rowlett (1994a/b), we used the label Δ instead of Op. For further discussion of the interaction between verb position and negative adverb position, see Belletti (1990; 1992; 1994a/b) and Zanuttini (1994b; 1995b).

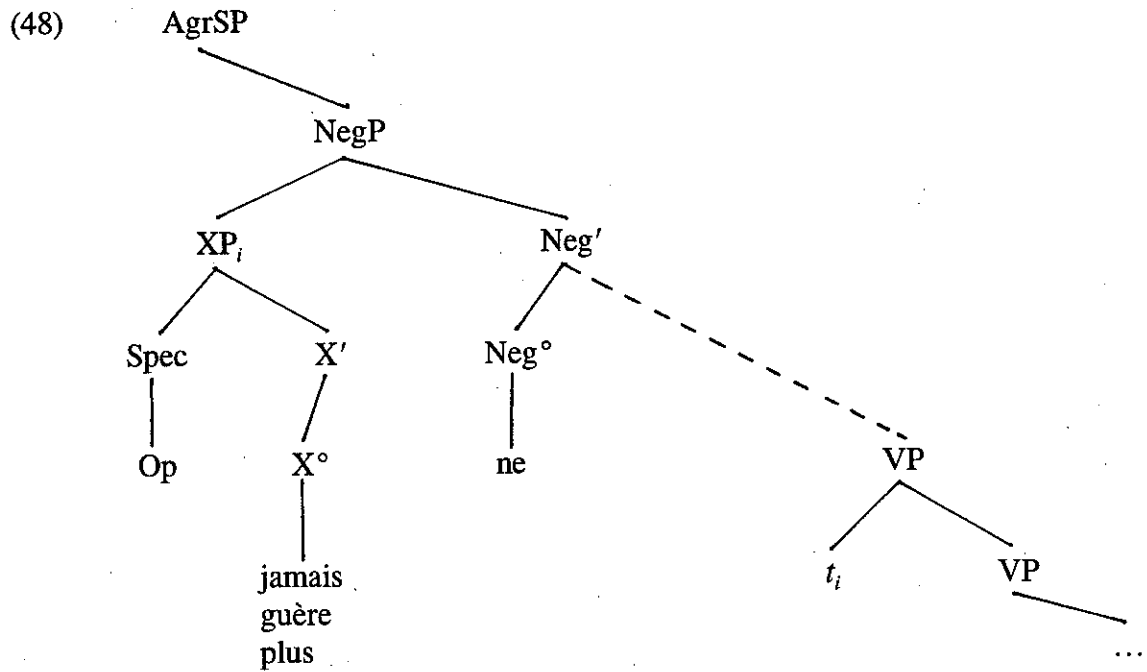
with the predicate by adjunction, it seems probable that the negative adverbs do too.

As mentioned above, however, this is not to claim that *pas* and the negative adverbs occupy identical surface positions. Indeed, in the present analysis they occupy fundamentally different kinds of position. For, while the negative operators, i.e., *pas* and its phonologically null equivalent, Op, are both themselves maximal projections, our claim is that the negative adverbs head their own maximal projections. The relationship between the adverbs and Op is, as hinted at above, the relationship between a head and its specifier. In this way, and in view of our conclusion that the adverbs are not inherently marked [+NEG], the negativity of the adverb and, by feature percolation, of the dominating XP, is a consequence of DA between the negative operator Op, in specifier position and the head. We therefore assume the base structure in (47)¹⁹.

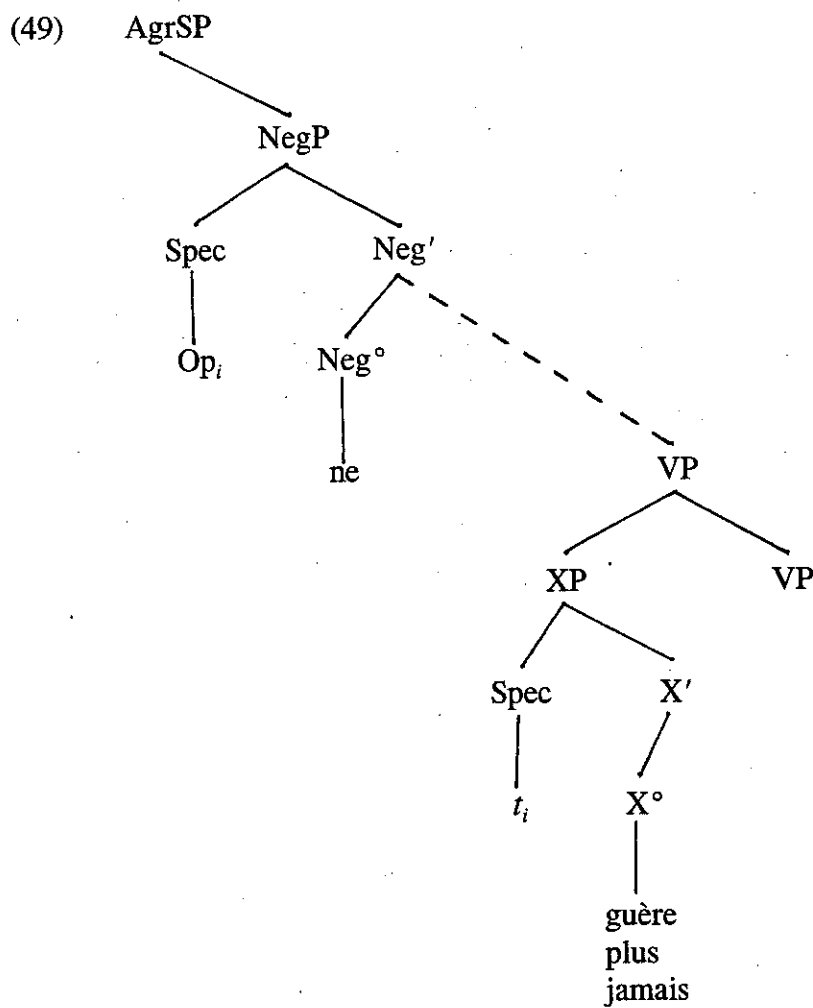


The Neg Criterion, as formulated by H&Z (1991) and applied at S-structure, obliges a [+NEG] operator to be in spec-head configuration with a compatible functional head, e.g., Neg°, at that level of representation. While failure of *pas* to raise was marginally acceptable in chapter 2, it had two consequences. First, *ne* was unavailable. Second, the negation had local scope. Given that, in the sentences we have been considering in the present chapter, *ne* is available and negation has wide scope, we must assume that a negative operator has raised to SpecNegP. This is possible in either of two ways. In each case, a maximal projection bearing the feature [+NEG] moves into SpecNegP. The first possibility is for the entire XP in (47) to move into SpecNegP. This is illustrated in (48):

¹⁹ We are grateful to David Adger for fruitful discussion of this topic. In the tree diagrams in the text, the negative adverbs will be labelled XP.



The second possibility is for just SpecXP, i.e., Op, to move into SpecNegP. This is illustrated in (49):



In the former case, the lexical adverb heading XP in (47) moves into SpecNegP at S-structure while, in the latter case, it remains *in situ* in its adjoined position. Given that TP and MoodP intervene between the base VP-adjoined position of the negative adverb and SpecNegP, this analysis has the attraction of predicting that negative adverbs can either precede or follow an infinitive in T°/Mood°. In both scenarios, crucially, Op appears in SpecNegP. DA then ensures that *ne* is licensed and endowed with the feature [+NEG]; negation has wide scope and the sentence is negative. (See Watanabe (1991) for a similar approach to *wh*-in-situ which involves movement of a null operator.)

In section 4.5, we discuss how this analysis accounts for the distributional differences between *pas* and the negative adverbs. But first, we illustrate how the base structure in (47) and the possible derivations in (48) and (49) interact with Verb Movement to produce the orderings discussed above.

4.4.4 Examples

Some exemplification is perhaps in order at this point, especially since, unlike in chapter 2 where we considered the syntax of *pas*, assumptions about the position of the negative adverbs interacts in much more complex fashion with the syntax of infinitives. Our assumptions about Verb Movement patterns in Standard French were given in (21) and are repeated here:

(21) *Overt Verb Movement patterns in French:*

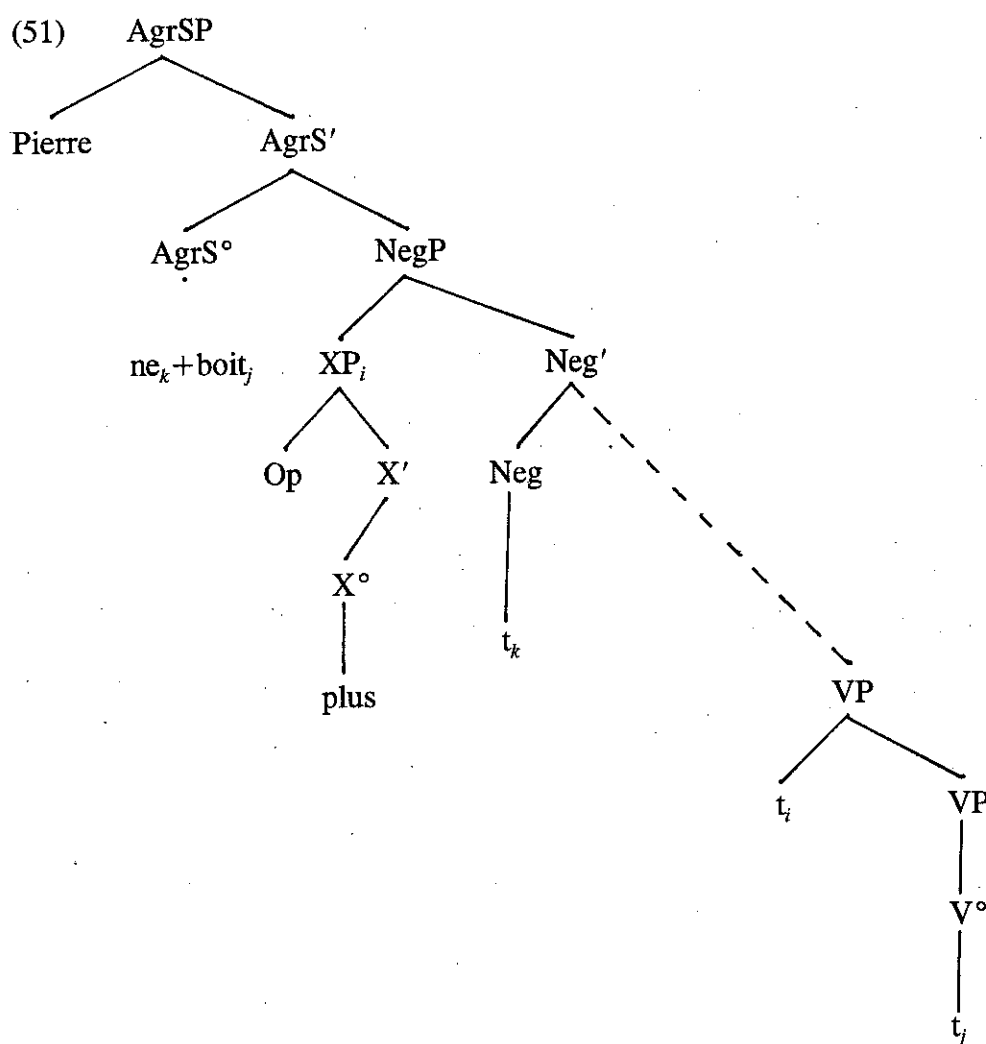
- a. All finite verbs move to AgrS°.
- b'. Infinitival auxiliaries (*être*, *avoir*) freely move to Mood°, T° or AgrS°.
- b''. Infinitival modal verbs (*pouvoir*, *devoir*, etc.) move to Mood° or T°, *and only exceptionally to AgrS°*.
- b'''. Infinitival lexical verbs move to Mood° or T°, but not as far as AgrS°.

Thus, while tensed verbs always appear in AgrS° at S-structure, infinitivals can, depending on the type of verb, appear either in AgrS° (auxiliaries, exceptionally modals, but not lexical infinitives), in T° (auxiliaries, modals and lexical verbs) or in Mood° (auxiliaries, modals and lexical verbs). In example 1, the clause is finite and the verb must therefore move to AgrS°. Examples 2 and 3 contain an auxiliary and modal infinitive respectively. The two possible surface orderings of *verb+adverb* and *adverb+verb* are discussed. Finally, in example 4, an infinitival lexical verb co-occurs with two negative adverbs, a scenario for which no structural analysis has yet been proposed.

4.4.4.1 Example 1

- (50) Pierre ne boit plus
 P. ne drinks plus
 'P. doesn't drink any more.'

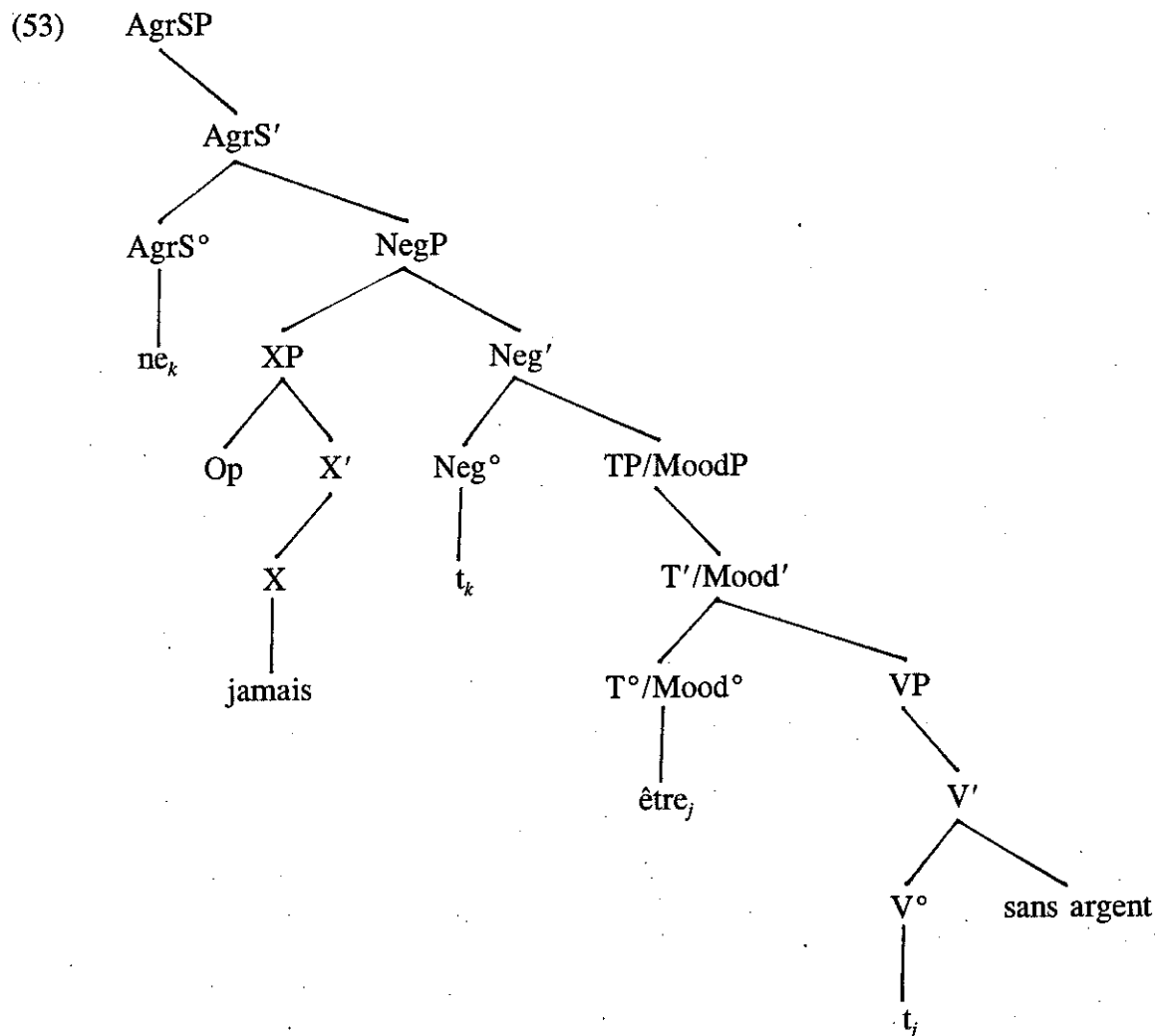
In this example, the clause contains a finite intransitive verb, *boit* 'drinks', which, in line with (21a) raises to AgrS°. The pre-verbal particle *ne* will move along with the finite verb to AgrS°. Depending on whether XP or just Op in SpecXP raises into SpecNegP to satisfy the Neg Criterion, the negative adverb *plus* will either remain *in situ*, VP-adjoined, or occupy SpecNegP. The second of these possible derivations is illustrated in the simplified (51):



4.4.4.2 Example 2

- (52) ...afin de ne jamais être sans argent
 in-order of ne jamais be-INF without money
 '...in order not ever to be without money.'

Here, an infinitival clause containing an auxiliary is introduced by a complex complementiser whose structure will not be investigated here. Following (21b), we assume that the verb moves at least as far as Mood°. Given that *jamais* is pre-verbal, we assume it occupies SpecNegP, i.e., that the entire XP (and not just Op in SpecXP) has moved to SpecNegP, and that the verb is either in T° or Mood°.

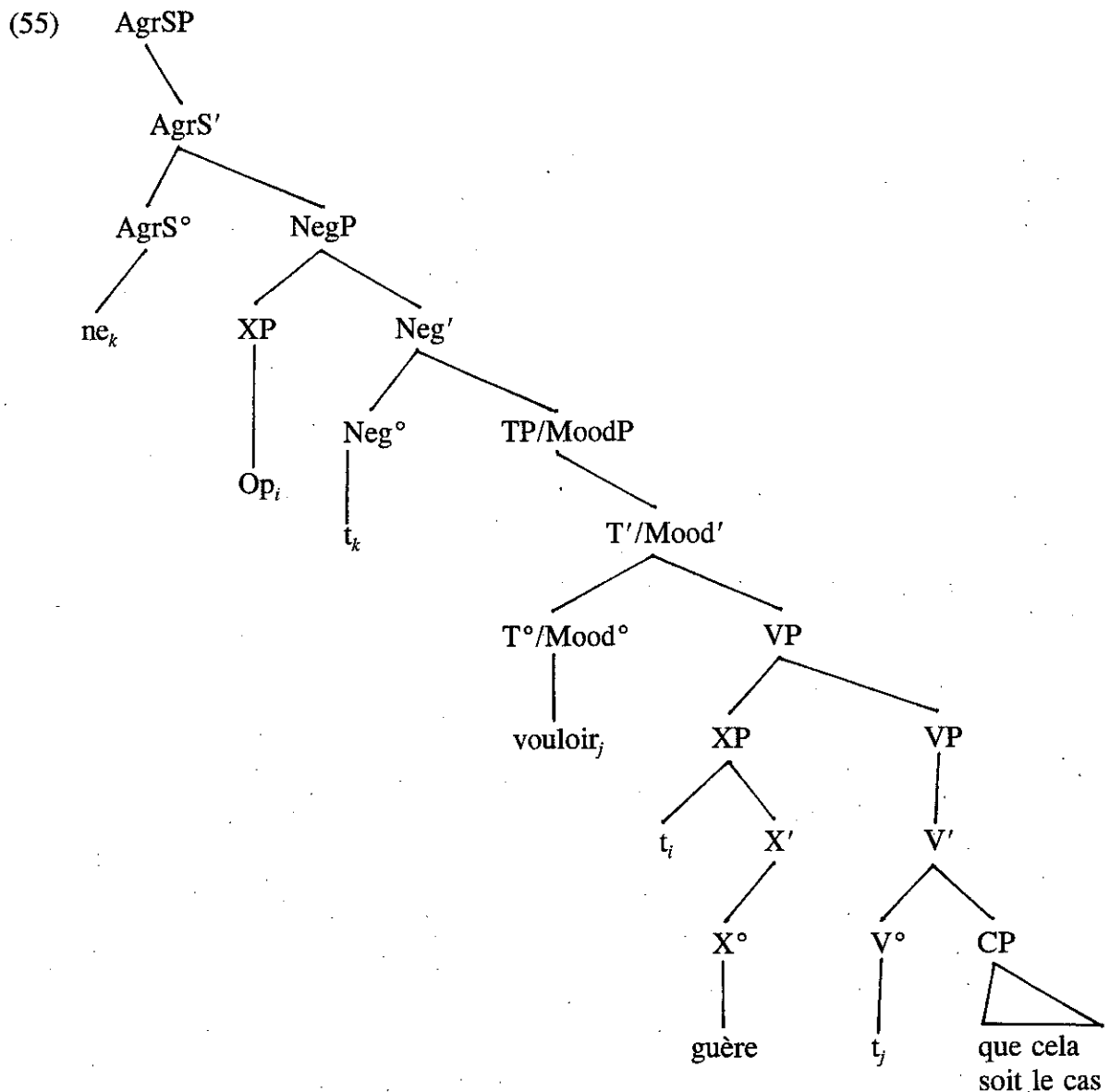


4.4.4.3 Example 3

- (54) ...faire preuve de ne vouloir guère que cela soit le cas
 do-INF proof of *ne* want-INF *guère* that that be-SUBJ the case
 '...prove that PRO hardly wants that to be the case.'

In contrast to example 2, which contains a (non-modal) auxiliary, the infinitival clause in example 3 contains a modal verb, i.e., *vouloir* 'to want'. Here, the negative adverb follows the verb, yet precedes the finite CP complement of the verb. Given the nature of the complement of the modal, i.e., a finite CP, and the position of the negative adverb, it cannot be claimed that the negative is associated with the CP. We conclude then that

the 'negative' is left-VP-adjoined and that the modal has raised either to Mood° or to T°, as in (55). The Neg Criterion is satisfied and *ne* is licensed since Op in SpecXP has raised to SpecNegP.

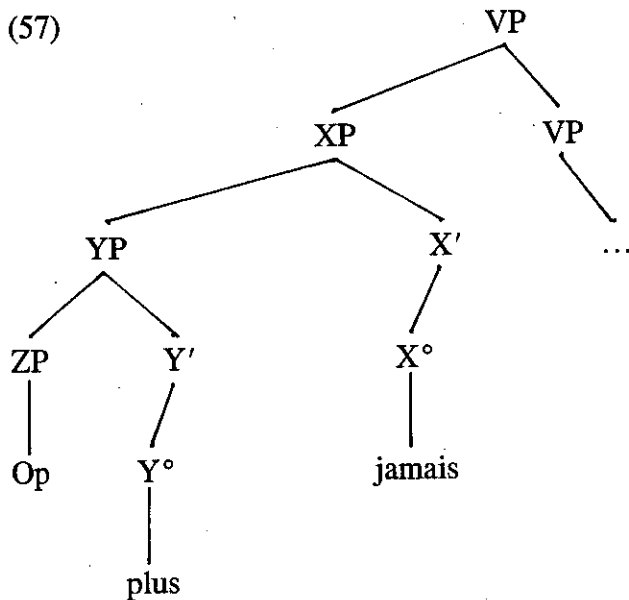


4.4.4.4 Example 4

- (56) Dis-lui de ne plus jamais venir
 say-him of *ne plus jamais* come-INF
 'Tell him/her never to come again.'

In the infinitival clause in example 4 which is the complement of the imperative, the verb is preceded by two negative adverbs, as in (6a-c) above. However, although we have discussed the possibility of negative adverb concatenation, we have not yet proposed a syntactic analysis of this phenomenon. One possible analysis is presented here.

(57)



Above, it was observed that these adverbs are not polarity-reversing elements and it was concluded, for this reason, that they are not inherently specified [+NEG]. In the structure proposed in (47), which, it was suggested, underlies the use of a single negative adverb, the structure receives its negative interpretation by virtue of the presence of the null negative operator Op. What is characteristic, of course, about the interpretation of the structures in (6a-c) and our example 4 here is that the apparent negativity of one adverb does not cancel out that of the other. We interpret this fact as suggesting that, in structures containing two or more adverbs, there is only one Op, producing a single instance of negation. How is it, then, that multiple negative adverbs can share one Op? One possibility is illustrated in (57), which we take to be part of the underlying structure of (56). The representation in (57) is similar to (47) in that a maximal projection, XP, headed by a lexical adverb is adjoined to VP. It differs from the one in (47) in that, instead of having SpecXP occupied by Op alone, SpecXP is occupied by YP, headed by another lexical adverb with Op (= ZP) in SpecYP. So, rather than being the specifier of XP, Op is the specifier of the specifier of XP. Successive DA and feature percolation can produce the necessary interpretation with XP being marked [+NEG] and both adverbs therefore within the scope of Op without the need for two null operators and without producing DN. The surface structure in (56) is a result of short Verb Movement (either to Mood° or as far as T°) and movement of XP - containing both negative adverbs and Op - into SpecNegP, exactly as in previous examples.

4.5 Explanatory adequacy

In section 4.3, two distributional differences between *pas* and the negative adverbs were discussed. In this section, we demonstrate how the proposed analysis allows an account of those differences to be given. Some residual issues are discussed in section 4.6.

4.5.1 Linear ordering of infinitival verbs

The underlying structure in (47) can be used in a relatively straightforward way as the basis of an explanation of why, in infinitival clauses, the distribution of the negative adverbs is more flexible than that of *pas*. The table in (58) shows how the analysis of negative adverbs and *pas* proposed or defended here together with the assumptions in (21), argued for on partially independent grounds, can account for the orderings exemplified in the text. What is important to remember is that our analysis predicts that *pas* must appear in SpecNegP since this is the only way in which the Neg Criterion can be satisfied, i.e., the only place in which the negative operator *pas* can be in the required configuration with a suitable head, and the only way *ne* can be licensed. With respect to the negative adverbs, in contrast, two possibilities are open. In the scenario illustrated in (49), lexical *guère*, *plus* and *jamais* appear in their base position at S-structure since the Neg Criterion has been satisfied and *ne* is licensed by Op alone raising from SpecXP to SpecNegP. In the scenario illustrated in (48), lexical *guère*, *plus* and *jamais* appear in SpecNegP since the entire XP (containing Op and the lexical adverb) has raised to SpecNegP. Hence, in the table in (58), *pas* must appear in the column headed SpecNegP, while the negative adverbs can appear either in the column head SpecNegP or in the column headed VP-Adjoined.

(58)

Positions					
	Text ex.	AgrS°	SpecNegP	T°/ Mood°	VP-Adjoined
a.	(1b)	sera	pas		
b.	(1c-e)	sera	plus/jamais/guère		
c.	(1c-e)	sera			plus/jamais/guère
d.	(22a)		pas/plus/jamais/guère	être	
e.	(22b)	être	pas/plus/jamais/guère		
f.	(22b)	(être)		(être)	plus/jamais/guère
g.	(24a)		pas	pouvoir	
h.	(24b)	?pouvoir	pas		
i.	(27a)		plus/jamais/guère	pouvoir	
j.	(27b)			pouvoir	plus/jamais/guère
k.	(39a)		pas	sembler	
l.	(39b)	★sembler	pas		
m.	(39b)			sembler	★pas
n.	(41a)		plus/jamais/guère	sembler	
o.	(41b)			sembler	plus/jamais/guère

In (58a-c), in which the finite verb is in AgrS°, both *pas* and the negative adverbs follow the verb. *Pas* obligatorily occupies SpecNegP, while the negative adverbs can either appear in SpecNegP or, if Op alone raises to SpecNegP, they can remain *in situ*, VP-adjoined.

In (58d-f), the infinitive is a non-modal auxiliary. Following (21b'), the verb can undergo either short, medium or long Verb Movement, and therefore occupy either Mood°, T° or AgrS°. Where the adverb is pre-verbal, as in (58d), it must be in SpecNegP, and the verb cannot have raised above T°. Where the adverb is post-verbal, a number of possibilities exist. If the adverb is *pas*, it must be in SpecNegP, and the verb must have risen to AgrS°, as in (58e). However, if the negative is an adverb rather than *pas*, it could either be in SpecNegP, in which case the verb must have risen into AgrS°, as in (58e). Alternatively, the adverb could be in its base position, adjoined to VP, in which case the verb could be in AgrS°, T° or Mood°, as in (58f).

In (58g-j), the infinitive is a modal. In (58g-h), the verb is negated by *pas* which must occupy SpecNegP. The most natural order, according to Pollock (1989: 375; 1993: 7), is for *pas* to precede the infinitival modal. This is illustrated in (58g) where the modal has undergone medium Verb Movement to T°. The unnaturalness of the reverse ordering is a consequence of the fact that, for such a string to be generated, the infinitival modal would need to undergo long Verb Movement to AgrS°, which is exceptional according to (21b"). The interesting contrast we noted between (24b) and (27b) is illustrated in the table in (58h) and (58j). For, although infinitival modals cannot – without marked stylistic effects – precede *pas*, they can quite naturally precede negative adverbs, not because long Verb Movement becomes more natural when it co-occurs with these adverbs, but rather because the adverbs (unlike *pas*) do not have to raise to SpecNegP. Rather, they can remain VP-adjoined, and the modal can precede them without having to raise from T° to AgrS°.

Finally, the situation with respect to full lexical verbs is illustrated in (58k-o). Where a lexical infinitive is negated by *pas*, the verb must follow the negative, as in (58k). This is because *pas* must occupy SpecNegP and the verb cannot raise higher than T°. For the reverse order to be generated, either the verb would have to raise to AgrS°, as in (58l), or the negative would have to remain VP-adjoined, as in (58m). In each case, the string is ungrammatical. In contrast, where the lexical infinitive co-occurs with a negative adverb, both relative orders are equally possible. In each case, the verb appears in T°. Where the adverb is pre-verbal, it has raised to SpecNegP, as in (58n); where it is post-verbal, it remains VP-adjoined, as in (58o).

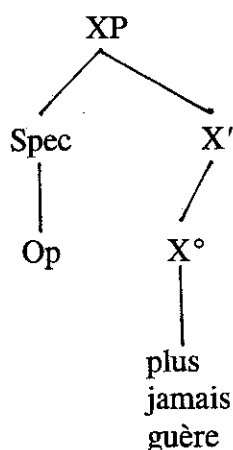
With respect to (58n) (= (41a)) and (58o) (= (41b)), it was noted on page 178 that the most common order was for the adverb to precede the infinitive, i.e., as in (58n) (= (41a)). Given our analysis, this can be accounted for with reference to extraction from an adjunct. For (58o) to be generated, Op needs to raise to SpecNegP from within the VP-adjoined XP without taking the lexical adverb with it. Given that this requires extraction from an adjunct, it will be less preferable than (58n) in which the entire adjunct raises into SpecNegP.

Having seen how the proposed analysis of negative adverbs allows an elegant account of the word orders discussed earlier in the chapter, we now turn to the thornier issue of why the negative adverbs – which we have labelled NPIs – cannot co-occur with *pas* (with a concordant reading) even though the equivalent *any*-NPIs in English do co-occur with *not*.

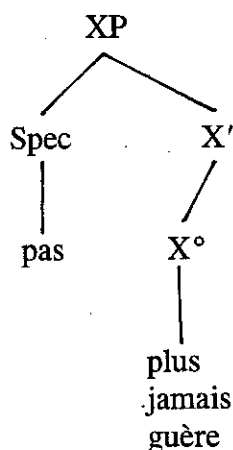
4.5.2 Co-occurrence restrictions: the *Spec-Head Redundancy Filter*

Within the framework of the structures proposed above, the question of why *pas* cannot, in some varieties (including the standard), co-occur with the negative adverbs (with an NC reading) is reduced to a consideration of why the adverbs, which head XP in (47), cannot take *pas* as their specifier. Why are they obliged, instead, to take the null equivalent of *pas*, i.e., Op, as their specifier? In fact, assuming that the standard and non-standard varieties have equal status from the point of view of UG, it is interesting to contrast the two. The standard configuration is given in (59a); the non-standard in (59b):

(59) a. *Standard:*



b. *Non-standard (e.g., Québécois):*



Within XP, while the head and specifier are both overt in the non-standard, this is not possible in the standard. In the standard, given that X° is overt, the operator in specifier position – while syntactically active and specified [+NEG] – must be phonologically null. We would like to suggest that the restriction operative in the standard, and the contrast between standard and non-standard varieties lend themselves to an account along the same lines as the familiar *Doubly-Filled Comp Filter* (Chomsky & Lasnik (1977)), originally

proposed to account for the grammaticality judgements relative to structures like (60) and (61):

- (60) a. John is the man who(m) I like
 b. John is the man that I like
 c. ★John is the man who(m) that I like
- (61) a. Voilà l' école où j'ai passé la plupart de ma jeunesse
 there the school where I have spent the majority of my youth
 b. ★Voilà l' école où que j'ai passé la plupart de ma jeunesse
 there the school where that I have spent the majority of my youth
 'There's the school where I spent most of my youth.'

In the relevant parts of the structures in (60) and (61), the *Doubly-Filled Comp Filter* does not rule out C° and SpecCP being filled simultaneously; rather, it seems to prevent the two positions being filled *with overt lexical material* simultaneously.

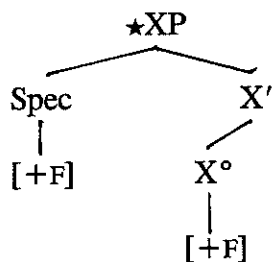
What we propose to do is transfer the basic intuitive idea behind the *Doubly-Filled Comp Filter* from the context of interrogation to that of negation, namely the XPs in (59). Of course, such a step is not without precedent. In recent work, H&Z (1991) and Haegeman (1995) – following early insights from Klima (1964) – have drawn parallels between negation and the Neg Criterion on the one hand, and interrogation and the *wh*-criterion on the other. The most radical suggestion, supported in chapter 1, section 1.4, is that the two criteria are in fact subcases of a single UG principle. Assuming this to be the case, it would not be implausible for a constraint analogous to the *Doubly-Filled Comp Filter* to apply within any maximal projection containing the relevant kind of feature, i.e., either a *wh*-operator or a [+NEG] operator. Following the same logic which sees the Neg Criterion and the *wh*-criterion as construction-specific instantiations of a single AFFECT criterion, we shall label the general constraint encompassing the *Doubly-Filled Comp Filter* and its 'negative' counterpart the *Spec-Head Redundancy Filter*²⁰:

²⁰ This is clearly an informal representation. The intuitive idea is that it should not be possible – for reasons of economy – to have a single grammatical feature expressed redundantly by two elements within the same immediate projection. Note that the *Spec-Head Redundancy Filter* is weaker than the *Doubly-Filled Comp Filter*. The former filter does not rule out doubly-filled projections *per se*, it simply rules out *redundantly* doubly-filled projections. This weakening of the original filter is empirically well-motivated (and therefore welcome) since, as is widely recognised, even at the CP level, both head and spec can simultaneously be filled, e.g., in *wh*-questions with inversion:

(i) [_{CP} [_{Spec} Where] [_{C'} [_{C^o} are] [_{Ag_{SP}} you *t* going *t*]]]

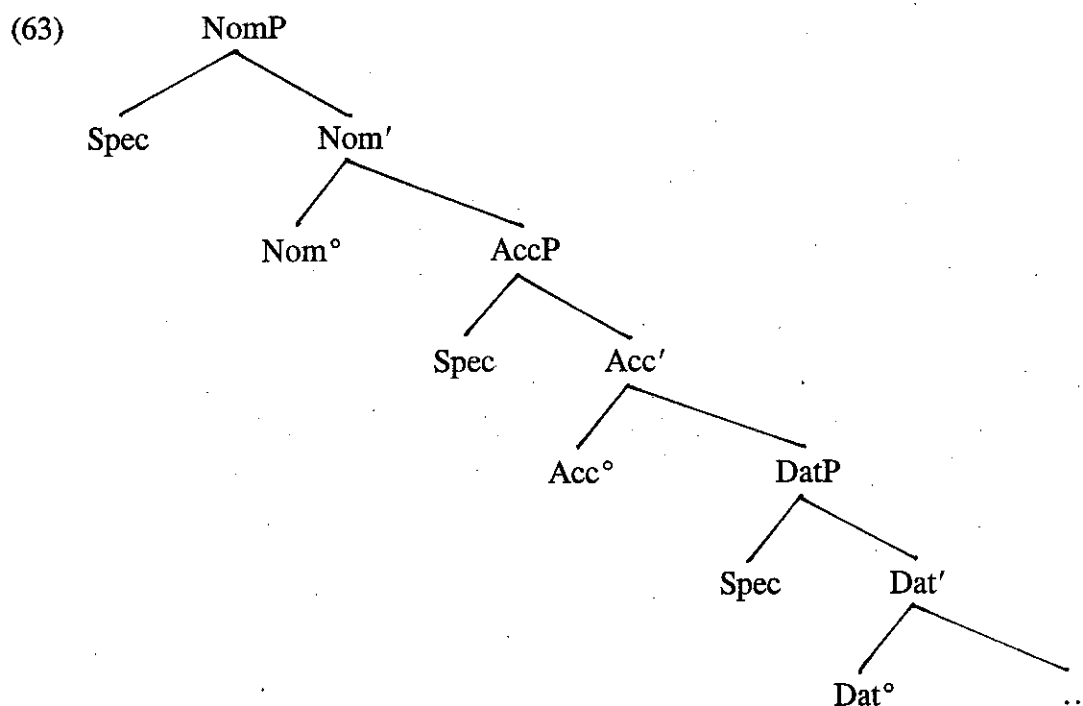
Examples such as these are clearly a problem for the *Doubly-Filled Comp Filter*. They are unproblematic for our *Spec-Head Redundancy Filter* since, in (i) for example, although

(62) *Spec-Head Redundancy Filter*:



where F represents (a) syntactic feature(s),
and both SpecXP and X° are overt.

The intuitive idea behind the *Spec-Head Redundancy Filter* has also been applied to clitic constructions by Sportiche (1992). Sportiche's work is of particular interest since it puts forward a detailed analysis of the mechanisms involved. In his analysis of (Romance) clitics, the clitic itself heads a functional maximal projection called a Voice Phrase selected as part of clausal architecture. He distinguishes between three such Voice Phrases, Nominative, Accusative and Dative Voice Phrases; as in (63), after Sportiche (1992: 23, (28b)):



The ϕ -features borne by the clitics (under the Nom°, Acc° and Dat° nodes), i.e., person, number, gender, are derived by spec-head agreement with argument XPs which move to the respective specifier positions. The movement is motivated by the Clitic Criterion, (applicable at LF according to Sportiche), along the lines of Rizzi's (1995) *wh*-criterion

the feature [+WH] is arguably borne by the overt material in both SpecCP and C°, the configuration is not redundant: the constituents in SpecCP and C° independently bear other features which are crucial for interpretation.

and H&Z's (1991) Neg Criterion²¹:

- (64) *Clitic Criterion*: (Sportiche (1992: 25, (31)))
- a. A clitic must be in a spec-head relationship with a [+F] XP,
 - b. A [+F] XP must be in a spec-head relationship with a clitic²².

To account for those languages, e.g., standard Modern French, in which clitic doubling is barred, Sportiche draws a further analogy with *wh*-movement. In the same way that he generalises the *wh*-criterion to clitics, he also generalises the *Doubly-Filled Comp Filter* to cover clitic projections (Voice Phrases) as well. As he puts it: '[t]he general idea might be that functional heads such as certain Cs or certain clitics cannot be simultaneously filled as [sic] their specifier if the property they license is overtly realised on the specifier, a sort of principle of economy minimising use of unnecessary phonological material (similar in a sense to the "avoid pronoun" principle' (Sportiche (1992: 28)). Sportiche's *Doubly-Filled Voice Filter* is given in (65):

- (65) *Doubly-Filled Voice Filter*:

★_[HP] XP [H ...]

where H is a functional head licensing some property P and both XP and H overtly encode P.

So, where the argument which moves into the specifier position of one of Sportiche's Voice Phrases is overt, the clitic will be non-overt; conversely, where the argument is phonologically null, the clitic will be overtly realised.

It is easy to see how the intuitive idea behind Sportiche's filter is generalisable to contexts in which the *wh*-criterion and Neg Criterion apply. Instead of the feature P licensed by the head being [+F], the feature could be [+WH] or [+NEG]. The idea which we would like to develop is that, in some varieties (including the standard), such a filter prevents *pas* from co-occurring with negative adverbs. Given that the co-occurrence of *pas* with negative adverbs (and an NC reading) is then attributed to the non-application of the filter, the prediction we can make is that the non-application of the filter should be visible in other areas too. In the next section, we offer evidence from Québécois that we are on the right lines in our thinking here.

²¹ Given our treatment of the Neg Criterion, we would have to assume that Sportiche's Clitic Criterion applies at S-structure.

²² [+F] is the particular property or feature in XPs that clitics license (Sportiche (1992: 25)).

4.5.2.1 Québécois

The suggestion that *pas* is mutually incompatible with negative adverbs for the same basic reason that overt complementisers are mutually incompatible with overt *wh*-operators, allows us to make an interesting prediction, namely that if there are varieties of French which allow overt complementisers to co-occur with overt *wh*-operators, then those varieties should also allow *pas* to co-occur with negative adverbs. One variety of French in which the *Doubly-Filled Comp Filter* does not seem to apply is Québécois. The data in (66), taken from Battye & Hintze (1992: 315), show that a *wh*-XP can occupy SpecCP at the same time as an overt complementiser occupies the C position:

- (66) a. [_{CP} Quand [_C que [_{IP} vous viendrez]]] ?
 when that you come-FUT
 ‘When are you coming?’
 b. [_{CP} Où [_C que [_{IP} tu vas]]] ?
 where that you go
 ‘Where are you going?’
 c. [_{CP} De quoi [_C que [_{IP} tu parles]]] ?
 of what that you talk
 ‘What are you talking about?’

Our prediction is that, in Québécois, ‘double negatives’ will also be possible without being interpreted as such. Indeed, this prediction is borne out, as shown by the following data from Muller (1991: 262). In Québécois, negative adverbs and arguments, especially argumental *rien* and *personne*, can appear with (post-verbal) *pas* without producing DN.

- (67) a. Le samedi soir..., y a pas personne en ville à Québec
 the Saturday evening there-CL has *pas personne* in town at Q.
 ‘Saturday evenings in July, there’s no-one in the centre of Quebec.’
 b. J’ai pas parlé à personne
 I have *pas* spoken to *personne*
 ‘I haven’t spoken to anyone.’
 c. tu travailles pas rien, tu risques pas grand-chose...
 you work *pas rien*, you risk *pas* much
 ‘if you do no work, you don’t risk much.’
 d. y m’ répond pas rien
 he-me answers *pas rien*
 ‘he doesn’t answer me.’
 e. ...personne a pas l’ droit de rien faire pis de rien dire
 personne has *pas* the right of *rien* do-INF then of *rien* say-INF
 ‘...since no-one has the right to do nothing and say nothing.’

- f. Personne n' est pas venu
 personne *ne* is *pas* come
 'No-one came.'

Muller's observation about the co-occurrence of *pas* and negative arguments is confirmed by Moritz & Valois as well as by Marc Picard (personal communication) who claims that *pas personne* is very common in Québécois while *pas rien* is not at all unusual. Further, with respect to the co-occurrence of *pas* and negative *adverbs*, Picard also reports instances of *pas jamais*. He says that *pas plus* alone strikes him as ungrammatical, at least in the sense of 'no longer'. Marie Claude (personal communication) has confirmed this. She offers the following data from children acquiring Québécois as L1:

- (68) a. Marie ne pleure pas jamais
 M. *ne* cries *pas* *jamais*
 'M. never cries.'
 b. Je n' ai pas plus faim
 I *ne* have *pas plus* hunger
 'I am no longer hungry.'
 c. Michel n' a pas rien fait
 M. *ne* has *pas rien* done
 'M. hasn't done anything.'
 d. Je ne vois pas personne
 I *ne* see *pas* *personne*
 'I can't see anyone.'

She also gives the following data from *adult* native speakers of Québécois (which, in the case of (69b), confirm Marc Picard's judgement with respect to *pas plus* in adult Québécois):

- (69) a. Marie pleure pas jamais
 (= (68a) but without pre-verbal *ne*)
 b. ★J'ai pas plus faim
 (= (68b) but without pre-verbal *ne*)
 c. Michel a pas rien fait
 (= (68c) but without pre-verbal *ne*)
 d. Je vois pas personne
 (= (68d) but without pre-verbal *ne*)

Note that, in contrast to the language of children acquiring Québécois, adult native speakers do not use the pre-verbal negative marker *ne* when using both *pas* and a negative adverb/argument. This observation is also made by Daoust-Blais & Kemp (1979: 14): 'As

a rule, if the negation marker *ne* is used, it is not possible to have both *pas* and a negative indefinite together'. (But see (67f) above, taken from Muller (1991: 262), for a counterexample.) Note also the lack of examples of *pas* co-occurring with *guère* in Québécois. We attribute this gap in the data to the fact that *guère* is not used in normal conversation at all in Québécois (as claimed by Daoust-Blais & Kemp (1979: 7)). The following examples are taken from Daoust-Blais & Kemp (1979: 11-2):

- (70) a. Je connais pas personne
I know *pas personne*
'I don't know anyone.'
- b. J'ai pas vu personne
I have *pas* seen *personne*
'I haven't seen anyone.'
- c. Je vois pas rien
I see *pas rien*
'I can't see anything.'
- d. J'en ai pas vu aucun
I of-them have *pas* seen *aucun*
'I haven't seen any of them.'
- e. Je sais pas jamais quand il va venir
I know *pas jamais* when he goes come-INF
'I never know when he'll come.'

This possibility, while often associated with the French spoken in Quebec, is not unattested in metropolitan French. Muller (1991: 261) notes a construction in metropolitan French which he suggests is 'populaire, dialectal, Moyen-Français, vieilli, rare' in which *pas* can co-occur with what he terms semi-négations:

- (71) a. Toute la rouscaillure n' y fera pas rien
all the moaning *ne* there-CL do-FUT *pas rien*
'All the moaning won't make any difference.'
- b. J'ai pas rien trouvé
I have *pas rien* found
'I haven't found anything.'
- c. Je connais pas aucun homme
I know *pas aucun* man
'I don't know any men.'
- d. Personne ne sait pas ce qu' il y a derrière
personne ne knows *pas* what that he there-CL has behind
'No-one knows what's behind it.'

- e. ...un parfum qu' aucun artifice ne parvient pas à donner
 a perfume that *aucun* trick *ne* manages *pas* to give-INF
 '...a smell that no trick could manage to produce.'

Muller notes further that this construction is even more frequent where the semi-négation is embedded within a PP, but this can only happen with semi-négations which can, in the standard language, appear embedded within a PP. Therefore, the negative adverbs *jamais*, *plus* and *guère* are excluded.

- (72) a. s' il y a quelque chose, il fera pas d' cadeau [_{PP} à personne]
 if it there-CL has some thing he do-FUT *pas* of gift to *personne*
 'if there's anything, he won't give anyone a present.'
- b. Il ne fait pas de doute [_{PP} pour personne] qu' un bon freinage est
 it *ne* does *pas* of doubt for *personne* that a good braking is
 indispensable pour la sécurité
 indispensable for the safety
 'No-one doubts that good brakes are essential for safety.'
- c. Je n' ai pas besoin [_{PP} d' aucune preuve]
 I *ne* have *pas* need of *aucune* proof
 'I don't need any proof.'

One interpretation of these data would be that, unlike in Standard French, *pas* has not become inherently negative in Québécois. If *pas* were still what Muller (1991) terms a *semi-négation*, i.e., a non-inherently negative NPI, its co-occurrence properties would be expected. However, at least one linguist looking at negation in Québécois, Denise Daoust-Blais, has argued that, in Québécois just like in standard French, *pas* and not *ne* must be considered the true negation marker (Daoust-Blais (1975); Daoust-Blais & Kemp (1979: 11)). Assuming this to be so, our analysis of *pas* and the negative adverbs in Standard French should also apply to Québécois. The possibility of co-occurrence of *pas* and negative adverbs/arguments is therefore best treated, as suggested above, as the possibility of lexical material occupying both X° and SpecXP in (47). That is to say, it is probably best to suggest that whatever filter prevents X° and SpecXP from being filled redundantly with overt material in Standard French fails to apply in Québécois, not an unhappy conclusion given that we have already seen that the *Doubly-Filled Comp Filter* fails to apply in these varieties too, and, indeed, a welcome conclusion if we wish to pursue the idea that all these filters are in fact context-specific instantiations of a single principle of UG such as the *Spec-Head Redundancy Filter*. We take this to be support for our analysis of negative adverbs in French. Not too that the analysis proposed here does not need to claim that, in Québécois, for example, *pas* has been reanalysed as Neg°, a

possibility considered by Moritz & Valois (1994: 679fn12) – see chapter 3, section 3.2.2.

4.6 Problems

The analysis of negative adverbs proposed in this chapter has a number of attractive features. First, it allows an analysis of negation in French which is in line with the prediction made about this language by *Jespersen's Generalisation*, namely that Modern French is a non-NC language. This prediction is borne out within the terms of the current analysis since 'negative' adverbs such as *plus*, *jamais* and *guère* (and the 'negative' arguments to be discussed in chapter 5) which can freely co-occur without leading to DN are deemed not to be inherently negative. *Jespersen's Generalisation* predicts that a language in which the regular negative marker is associated with SpecNegP rather than being generated under Neg° should be non-NC. Had we analysed the 'negative' adverbs and arguments as inherently negative elements, Modern French would have been an exception to *Jespersen's Generalisation*. Second, by suggesting that the negative force of 'negative' adverbs is due to their association with a non-overt negative operator, Op, we were able to provide an elegant analysis of the freer distributions these elements witness compared with *pas*.

With respect to the quirky feature of Standard French, namely that overt negative adverbs/arguments cannot co-occur with an overt negative operator without leading to DN, we suggested that this property was not in fact a consequence of the basic features of the system of sentential negation; rather, we suggested that this was due to an independent feature of the grammar, namely the *Spec-Head Redundancy Filter*, which we assumed to apply in Standard French but not, for example, in Québécois in which NC is possible between *pas* and negative adverbs/arguments. Interesting, we identified a number of other respects in which 'standard' varieties of French differ from 'colloquial' varieties which, it was argued, could be attributed to the application vs. non-application of the *Spec-Head Redundancy Filter*. Thus, the analysis of negative adverbs proposed here together with our account of the unavailability of NC with *pas* is lent empirical support. As ever, though, there are problems. Some of these are sketched out here.

First, consider the range of application of the *Spec-Head Redundancy Filter*. In its most familiar manifestation – as the *Doubly-Filled Comp Filter* – it applies within a functional projection, CP, headed, arguably, by affective features, namely [+WH]. Here, we have generalised its range of application to negation, which we justified in part with reference to the fact that the *wh*-criterion and Neg Criterion have been generalised to the

AFFECT criterion²³. Interrogative and negative items appear to have a number of properties in common. Note, though, that rather than applying to a selected functional XP (namely, CP), we have suggested here that the *Spec-Head Redundancy Filter* can also apply within a lexical XP (headed by the negative adverb) which is adjoined to VP.

Second, by subsuming the syntax of negation under a general umbrella covering the syntax and complementisers and clitics, we make very strong predictions. To be precise, by claiming that the (im)possibility of Doubly-Filled Comps and Clitic Voice Phrases on the one hand and the (un)availability of NC with *pas* on the other are determined by a single principle in the grammar, namely the application vs. non-application of the *Spec-Head Redundancy Filter*, the implication is that, in a given variety, either all three will be possible or all three will be impossible. However, this does not seem to be the case. While accepting that these are real problems which need to be addressed, we leave them on the research agenda for the time being.

4.7 Summary

In this chapter, we have considered the syntax of the negative adverbs *plus*, *jamais* and *guère*. In line with the conclusion we drew at the end of chapter 3, namely that Modern French is a non-NC language, we analysed these elements as non-inherently negative. Rather, we treated them as NPIs of one sort or another, in that their negative interpretation is the result of their co-occurrence with an operator which is inherently negative and which takes scope over them. In the standard language, this operator is non-overt: *Op*; in some non-standard varieties, e.g., Québécois, it is overt: *pas*. By concluding that the 'negative' adverbs of French are not inherently negative themselves, we were able to provide an

²³ The fact that Sportiche (1992) generalises the *wh*-/Neg Criteria to the syntax of clitics should not pass without comment at this point. Recall that the *wh*-/Neg Criteria have been assumed to be versions of the more general AFFECT criterion in the sense that [+WH] and [+NEG] are both deemed to be affective features. (Similarly, the Topic Criterion and Focus Criterion which have been exploited in the literature, e.g., by Brody (1990), are based on the assumption that [+TOPIC] and [+FOCUS] are affective features.) Now, consider the status of whatever feature(s) are associated with clitics and their corresponding full arguments. It seems implausible that these too are affective in any interesting sense. It is therefore unlikely that the clitic criterion can be viewed as (yet another) construction-specific version of the AFFECT criterion. The theoretical status of Sportiche's clitic criterion is therefore unclear. Alternatively, the analysis of the syntax of affective elements in terms of the AFFECT criterion is doubtful. It may turn out to be the case that the work commonly attributed to the AFFECT criterion should in fact be placed in the realm of Checking theory. We shall not pursue this issue here. See chapter 2, footnote 5 for discussion.

elegant account for the freer distributions these elements witness in comparison with *pas*. Whereas *pas* must raise to SpecNegP where this position is accessible since this is the only way in which the Neg Criterion can be satisfied, the 'negative' adverbs do not since the Neg Criterion can then be satisfied if the non-overt Op raises (without taking the lexical adverb with it). Regarding the distinction between the two types of variety mentioned above, we suggested that this should be seen in terms of the application or non-application of a filter which either does or does not prevent a grammatical feature from being encoded on both the specifier and head of a given projection.

In the next chapter, we turn our attention to what we have termed the negative arguments, i.e., those 'negative' elements associated with *ne* which are also Θ -role bearing elements and, therefore, associated with A positions. These elements are *rien* and *personne*.

5

Negative arguments

5.1 Introduction

In chapter 4, we considered the main adverbs (other than the negative marker *pas*) which can be associated with *ne* in negative clauses. We concluded that, in contrast to *pas*, these elements are not themselves negative. Rather, it was argued that they were negative polarity items (henceforth, NPIs) and that, following the discussion in chapter 3, these NPIs can be licensed by being A'-bound by a (generally non-overt) negative operator in SpecNegP. Any negative interpretation or sentential scope these adverbs may have is due to such binding. It was argued in chapter 4 that such an analysis made it possible to account for the fact: (a) that these adverbs can co-occur with each other without leading to logical double negation (henceforth, DN); and, (b) that these adverbs had freer distributions than *pas*.

In this chapter, we move away from negative adverbs; our aim is to provide a syntactic analysis of negative arguments, i.e., those elements which, like *plus*, *jamais* and *guère*, can co-occur (with each other and, in certain registers, with *ne*), but which, in contrast, are argumental rather than adverbial and, consequently, are associated with Θ -roles and, presumably, A-positions. The two elements we shall be considering are *personne* 'anyone/no-one' and *rien* 'anything/nothing'. Examples of the use of *rien* and *personne* are given in (1)¹:

¹ While the presence of pre-verbal *ne* is generally optional (see chapter 1, section 1.3.4 and the references in chapter 1, footnote 4 for discussion of the sociolinguistics of 'ne-drop'), Ashby (1976: 123; 1981: 679) notes in two independent studies that, where the grammatical subject is *personne* or *rien*, pre-verbal *ne* is never deleted. Prince (1976: 410) gives the same judgement. A couple of comments are in order at this point. First, Escure (1974: 403) disagrees with Ashby and Prince, giving the following data (her (3b) and (4b)):

- (i) *Personne vient*
personne comes
 'No-one is coming.'
- (ii) *Personne veut rien*
personne wants *rien*
 'No-one wants anything.'

Escure's judgements are in no way marginal; our informants also accept (i) and (ii). Second, the fact that *personne* and, in liaison contexts, *rien* both end in an [n] makes it difficult to tell whether *ne* has been dropped or not. The contrast could be reduced to the presence vs.

- (1) a. *Personne ne voit Marie*
 personne ne sees M.
 'No-one can see M.'
- b. *Marie ne soupçonne rien*
 M. *ne* suspects *rien*
 'M. suspects nothing.'
- c. *Personne ne fait rien*
 personne ne does *rien*
 'No-one's doing anything.'

On the basis of the discussion of *Jespersen's Generalisation* in chapter 3, and the way this was then applied to negative adverbs in French in chapter 4, we will pursue an analysis in which it is assumed that negative arguments are not inherently negative. Rather, we argue that any negative interpretation *rien* and *personne* receive is due to their association with another element which in contrast *is* inherently negative, e.g., the non-overt negative operator Op. Op is also responsible for conferring sentential scope on the negative arguments. Our assumption is supported by the fact that *personne* and *rien* can co-occur with each other, as well as with the negative adverbs discussed in chapter 4, without leading to logical DN. Given that *Jespersen's Generalisation* predicts that Modern French is a non-NC language, as discussed in chapter 3, section 3.6.2, we do not expect multiple negative XPs to co-occur without leading to logical DN. Thus, *personne* and *rien* are to be analysed as NPIs of some sort rather than negative quantifiers². Under the assumption, then, that *rien* and *personne* are NPIs, we shall first account for the mechanisms responsible for licensing these NPIs in clauses. These, it will be suggested, are the same as those responsible for licensing the adverbs discussed in chapter 4, namely A'-binding at S-structure. Of course, this is exactly what we expect given that we are proposing parallel characterisations for the two sets of elements.

A further aim of this chapter will be to provide an account for why, within the standard modern language, the distribution of *rien* does not match that of *personne*, a fact widely recognised in the traditional grammatical literature but one which, to our knowledge, has yet to be addressed by theoretical syntacticians. In her recent study of sentential negation which includes discussion of French, Haegeman (1995: 315-6fn40)

absence of gemination. Strong categorical claims that *ne* is never dropped in these contexts need therefore to be treated with care. Further, Prince's conclusion was based on accepted prescriptivist views rather than observation (personal communication).

² Von Bremen (1986: 234) suggests that it is necessary to distinguish between different types of NPI in French and other languages.

decides to leave a precise characterisation of these two elements on the research agenda. For example, in compound perfective verb paradigms, while *personne* must follow the participle, the more natural position for *rien* is between the auxiliary and the participle^{3,4}.

- (2) a. Jean n' a vu personne
 b. #Jean n' a vu rien
 J. *ne* has seen *personne/rien*
 'J. hasn't seen anyone/anything.'
- (3) a. ★Jean n' a personne vu
 b. Jean n' a rien vu
 J. *ne* has *personne/rien* seen
 (= (2a/b))

This and other parallel distributional mismatches between *personne* and *rien* will be discussed in section 5.5 below. In sections 5.3 and 5.4, we deal with *personne* and *rien* respectively. A number of residual issues are discussed in section 5.6. First, in section 5.2, we review some early generative approaches to *personne* and *rien*.

5.2 Early generative approaches to the syntax of *personne* and *rien*

Early transformational attempts to deal with the syntax of *personne* and *rien* were couched within the terms of LF raising: as quantifiers, these elements were assumed to QR at LF in order to acquire sentential scope. Such LF movement was argued by Kayne (1981; 1984: 24) to account for the contrast in (4):

- (4) a. ★Je n' ai exigé que personne soit arrêté
 I *ne* have demanded that *personne* be-SUBJ arrested
 'I didn't demand anyone be arrested.'
- b. ?Je n' ai exigé qu' ils arrêtent personne
 I *ne* have demanded that they arrest-SUBJ *personne*
 'I didn't demand they arrest anyone.'

³ The symbol # is used in (2b) to indicate that the order is marked. The degree of markedness seems to vary between speakers. For our informants, post-participial *rien* is emphatic; for Muller (1991: 282) and Viviane Déprez (personal communication), it is ungrammatical.

⁴ Muller (1991: 281) points out that, while impossible in the standard language, (3a) is possible in some non-standard regional varieties of French (e.g., Genevan French, according to Haegeman (1995: 231, (87b))).

Kayne (1981) argues that the ungrammaticality of (4a) is due to the ECP in (5):

(5) *The Empty Category Principle (ECP):*

A (non-pronominal) empty category must be properly governed.

As a result of QR, Kayne argues that *personne* in (4a) leaves a subject trace which fails to be properly governed, hence the ungrammaticality. Raising of *personne* in (4b) fails to result in ungrammaticality because the trace left after LF movement of *personne* is in object position. Object traces – unlike subject traces – are properly head-governed⁵. Identical facts hold for *rien*, as shown in (6):

- (6) a. ★Je n' ai exigé que rien soit fait
I ne have demanded that *rien* be-SUBJ done
'I didn't demand anything be done.'
b. ?Je n' ai exigé qu' ils fassent rien
I ne have demanded that they do-SUBJ *rien*
'I didn't demand they do anything.'

A couple of comments are in order here. First, not all speakers of French agree with Kayne's judgements in (4). (See, for example, the comments by Zaring (1985: 160) and the reservations in von Bremen (1986: 230).) This fact could be taken to cast doubt on an ECP approach since ECP violations usually result in sharp ungrammaticality. Second, it is surprising that the same effects are not found in Spanish at all. (See Longobardi (1987).) Further, the grammaticality of (7), is problematical for an LF raising approach to the syntax of *personne/rien*⁶.

⁵ Rizzi (1982: 124, (22)/(26)) shows that the facts for *personne* can be replicated in Italian for *nessuno* (and *niente*):

- (i) a. Non pretendo che tu arresti nessuno
non require-1SG that you arrest-SUBJ *nessuno*
'I don't require you to arrest anyone.'
b. ?★Non pretendo che nessuno ti arresti
non require-1SG that *nessuno* you arrest-SUBJ

The example in (ia) is somewhat better than the equivalent French string in (4b) since the pre-verbal negative marker is sufficient in Italian to mark sentential negation but not in French. (See chapter 1, section 1.3.4.) The only possible interpretation of the string in (ib) – assuming, anyway, a particular intonational pattern (Rizzi (1982: 175fn12)) – is an (irrelevant) DN reading. Hence, (ib) could be glossed as in (ii):

- (ii) I don't require that no-one arrest you (DN)

⁶ The structure illustrated with *croire* 'to believe' in (7) is also possible with other bridge verbs, e.g., *affirmer* 'to maintain', *prétendre* 'to claim', *penser* 'to think' and *estimer* 'to feel' but not, interestingly, with *dire* 'to say'. Thanks to Odile Cyrille for this information.

- (7) Je ne crois pas que personne soit arrivé (Prince (1976: 410, (29d)))
 I ne believe *pas* that *personne* be-SUBJ arrived
 'I don't think anyone has arrived.'

In this example, *personne* appears in the same position as in Kayne's (4a), namely the subject position of the embedded subjunctive clause. The fact that *personne* has matrix scope is clear from the translation of the example as well as the representation in (8).

- (8) $\neg \exists x, \text{person}(x), \text{believe}(\text{I}, (\text{arrived}(x)))$
 (= (7))

In (9), in contrast, the scope of *personne* is restricted to the embedded clause. The meaning of (7) is the opposite of the meaning of (9):

- (9) Je ne crois pas que personne ne soit arrivé
 I ne believe *pas* that *personne ne* be-SUBJ arrived
 'I don't think no-one has arrived.'
 (= 'I think someone has arrived.')

- (10) $\neg \text{believe}(\text{I}, (\neg \exists x, \text{person}(x), (\text{arrived}(x))))$
 (= (9))

In (9), *personne* has local scope (restricted to the embedded clause); the sentence is an example of logical DN, as indicated in (10) by the presence of two logical operators of negation, one of which cancels the other out. In (7), in contrast, *personne* has matrix scope, as in (4a); in (8) there is just one negative operator. Given that Kayne motivates LF raising of *personne* in (4a) for scope reasons, he would be obliged to do the same in (7). Of course, following Kayne's analysis, by raising out of its surface position, *personne* would leave an ungoverned trace behind. Consequently, (7) should be ungrammatical, but it isn't. We take this to be further evidence against Kayne's (1981) LF raising account of *personne* and *rien*⁷.

In the following sections, we consider *personne* (section 5.3) and *rien* (section 5.4) individually. First, we review a more recent LF raising account of *personne*, by Moritz & Valois (henceforth, M&V) (1994)⁸, in which covert movement is motivated by the Neg Criterion on the assumption that *personne* is inherently negative. Given that, for reasons which should now be clear, we wish to pursue an analysis in which neither *personne* nor

⁷ As we shall see later in section 5.3.2, the grammaticality of (7) is also problematical for Moritz & Valois' (1994) account of the syntax of *personne*.

⁸ See also Moritz & Valois (1993).

rien is deemed to bear the feature [+NEG] and in which, anyway, the Neg Criterion is assumed to apply at S-structure, we question a number of M&V's fundamental assumptions and, ultimately, their LF raising account. We then sketch an analysis in which *personne* is licensed at S-structure. Turning finally to *rien*, we maintain our assumption that *rien* is licensed at S-structure and that no LF movement needs to be posited.

5.3 The syntax of *personne*

Of the two negative arguments to be discussed here, *personne* is the most 'straightforward', at least in terms of its distribution. The overt distribution of *personne* is essentially that of any other argument DP (M&V (1994: 669)). It can be a subject, a direct or indirect object, the complement of a noun or of a preposition. Yet, in similar fashion to Kayne (1981), M&V (1994) suggest that *personne* raises at LF. In the latter case, raising is motivated by the Neg Criterion in (11) below: *personne* is deemed to be inherently negative and raises at LF to SpecNegP. In section 5.3.1, we discuss and evaluate the analysis and logic put forward in M&V (1994). General problems with their analysis are raised in section 5.3.2. An alternative proposal – in line with the conclusions we reached in earlier chapters – is made in section 5.3.3.

5.3.1 M&V (1994): LF raising of *personne* to SpecNegP

The syntax of *personne* has been the topic of recent work by Luc Moritz and Daniel Valois (1993; 1994) who assume, following Kayne (1981), that, in contrast to 'ordinary' arguments, *personne* (or a larger constituent containing *personne*) undergoes movement at LF. M&V (1994) assume that *personne* is inherently negative and suggest that LF raising is to SpecNegP to satisfy Haegeman & Zanuttini's (henceforth, H&Z) (1991: 244, (27)) Neg Criterion in (11):

(11) *The Neg Criterion:*

- a. Each Neg X° must be in a spec-head relationship with a Neg operator;
- b. Each Neg operator must be in a spec-head relationship with a Neg X° .

By raising to SpecNegP, the Neg Criterion can be satisfied by virtue of the spec-head configuration between (the constituent containing) *personne* in SpecNegP and (the trace of) *ne* in Neg $^{\circ}$. The reader is referred to M&V (1994) for the mechanics of how *personne* manages to reach SpecNegP at LF, the exact details of which are irrelevant for our purposes here. Briefly, where possible, *personne* raises alone, directly or successive cyclically to SpecNegP at LF. Where this is not possible, i.e., where *personne* is

contained within an island XP, M&V suggest that *personne* raises to the highest specifier position within the island. A sequence of Dynamic Agreement (henceforth, DA) between *personne* (in SpecXP) and the head, X^0 , of the island, followed by feature percolation from X^0 up to XP guarantees that the [+NEG] feature is borne by the entire island constituent, XP, which then raises to SpecNegP to satisfy the Neg Criterion. M&V (1994) call this 'LF pied-piping'⁹.

To support their LF pied-piping analysis, M&V (1994) provide arguments suggesting that movement is involved in sentential negation in French in general, i.e., not just in *ne...pas* constructions, but also in structures containing *ne...personne*, etc. First, albeit tentatively, they refer (p. 671) to Longobardi's (1991) observation of a parallel between rules operating on *wh*-movement and those responsible for scope assignment of negative phrases in Italian¹⁰, which Longobardi attributes to the fact that negative phrases undergo LF movement. M&V (1994: 673) point out that *personne* exhibits some of the properties identified by Longobardi, e.g., sensitivity to strong islands, providing data which suggests that the distribution of *personne* is sensitive to both the Subject Condition and the Adjunct Condition¹¹. However, as M&V acknowledge (1994: 674), sensitivity to strong islands is not an undisputed indication of movement. For example, they note that Cinque (1990) challenges this correlation in his (non-movement) analysis of clitic left dislocation constructions in Italian. In Cinque's analysis, sensitivity to strong islands is a condition on 'chains' generally, whether created by movement or by base-generation, i.e., a condition on chains and CHAINS. This reservation notwithstanding, M&V (1994: section 4) provide data which, in their view, constitute direct empirical evidence that, where *personne* is not higher than SpecNegP at S-structure, it moves to SpecNegP at LF. The

⁹ A similar mechanism is used by Ortiz de Urbina (1993) to account for some cases of overt movement in Basque.

¹⁰ It should be pointed out at this juncture that Italian indefinites such as *niente* 'nothing' and *nessuno* 'no-one' are clearly susceptible to analysis by speakers as being morphologically and therefore inherently negative. As such, and if we were to accept an LF raising analysis of negative phrases, it seems to us plausible to motivate raising to SpecNegP using the Neg Criterion. The same cannot be said for the Modern French series of indefinites which includes *personne* since these cannot be argued to be morphologically negative.

¹¹ Subject Condition violations are illustrated in (i), Adjunct Condition violations in (ii):

- (i) ★Engager *personne* n' est permis (M&V (1994: 673, (14a)))
hire-INF *personne* ne is allowed
- (ii) ★Pierre souhaite que Marc ne parte avant d' engager *personne* (ibid.,
P. wishes that M. ne leave-SUBJ before of hire-INF *personne* (16a))

See M&V (1994) for discussion.

first set of data concerns the licensing of indefinite pseudo-partitive direct objects, i.e., with the structure [\emptyset de NP]. The second concerns the failure of NC between *personne* and *pas*. The data are discussed and the argumentation evaluated in sections 5.3.1.1 and 5.3.1.2 respectively. General problems with M&V's analysis are raised in section 5.3.2.

5.3.1.1 Pseudo-partitive direct objects: [\emptyset de NP]

In chapter 2, section 2.3.1, we proposed a derivational A'-binding analysis of pseudo-partitives which we assumed, following Lyons (1994a) were NumPs: [_{NumP} \emptyset de NP]. Pseudo-partitives are licensed in negative sentences, as in (12a), or by what Battye (1989) terms nominal quantifiers in a QàD structure, as in (12b).

- (12) a. Jean n' a pas_i mangé [\emptyset_i de pain]
 J. *ne* has *pas* eaten of bread
 'J. hasn't eaten any bread.'
- b. Jean a beaucoup_i mangé [\emptyset_i de pain]
 J. has lots eaten of bread
 'J. has eaten lots of bread.'

What seems to be required is a c-commanding operator (at S-structure) for local A'-binding of the empty category, \emptyset , contained within the pseudo-partitive (cf. Kayne (1981)). In chapter 2, section 2.3.3, we claimed that the c-command condition is a consequence of the fact that \emptyset is the trace of the operator, i.e., *pas* or *beaucoup*; the operator is generated within the pseudo-partitive NumP and subsequently extracted: $\emptyset = t$. Since the ECP guarantees that movement is always to a c-commanding position, the operator will always c-command \emptyset . This approach has the desirable consequence that Kayne's c-command condition does not need to be stated since it follows from the ECP and the nature of the relationship between the operator and the empty category. The binding relations in (12) are indicated by co-indexation. In (12b), the operator is *beaucoup*; in (12a), it is *pas*.

In addition to the configurations discussed above, M&V (1994: 677) point out that pseudo-partitives are licensed when the subject is *personne*; as in (13):

- (13) Personne n' a avalé de poison
 personne ne has swallowed of poison.
 'No-one swallowed any poison.'

For M&V (1994), who do not assume the derivational analysis of pseudo-partitives proposed in chapter 2 (and who cannot therefore explain the unavailability of PP-embedded

pseudo-partitives discussed in chapter 2, section 2.3.4.2), the grammaticality of (13) does not pose a problem: the (S-structure) c-command condition on (the empty category contained within) pseudo-partitives is satisfied if *personne* is analysed as a potential licenser, i.e., if the pseudo-partitive in (13) is licensed as in (14)¹².

(14) *Personne_i n'a avalé [Ø_i de poison]*

Despite the fact that examples such as (13) are amenable to analysis within the terms of Kayne's *S-structure* c-command condition on licensing pseudo-partitives, M&V (1994) present data which, according to them, suggest the c-command condition on licensing pseudo-partitives should in fact apply at LF. M&V (1994) show that pseudo-partitives are licensed in the presence of *personne* even when *personne* does not itself c-command the pseudo-partitive at S-structure, as in (15) (M&V's (1994: 677-8, (31))), where *personne* is embedded within an indirect object or adverbial PP¹³.

- (15) a. *Lucie n' a donné [Ø de livres] [PP à personne]*
 L. *ne* has given of books to *personne*
 'L. hasn't given any books to anyone.'
- b. *Lucie ne donne [Ø de réceptions] [PP pour personne]*
 L. *ne* gives of parties for *personne*
 'L. doesn't throw parties for anyone.'
- c. *Lucie n' a donné [Ø de livres] [PP à l' ami de personne]*
 L. *ne* has given of books to the friend of *personne*
 'L. hasn't given any books to anyone's friend.'

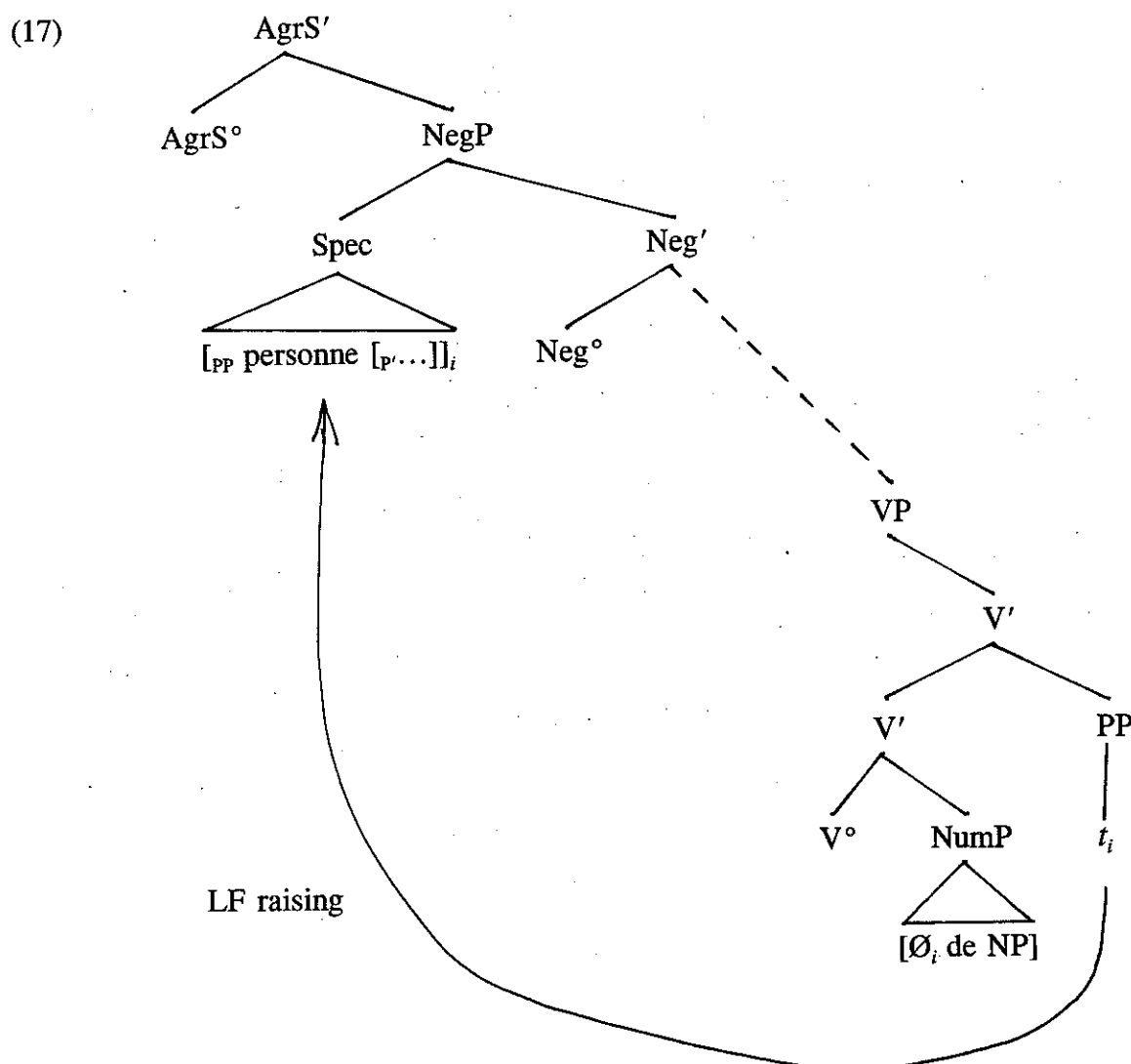
An empirical fact which M&V (1994) fail to mention is that *personne* also licenses a pseudo-partitive DP from (a non-c-commanding position) within the subject, as in (16):

¹² Note that in (14), the licenser of the empty category in the pseudo-partitive [Ø de NP] is not its antecedent: $\emptyset \neq t$. For M&V (1994), binding is a representational relationship, not a derivational one. \emptyset and its licenser form a CHAIN rather than a chain. This of course has the weakness of making it necessary to stipulate that the two elements are related by binding and, consequently, c-command. In the analysis of pseudo-partitives proposed in chapter 2, this stipulation was not necessary, as discussed in the text. There, pseudo-partitives were seen as the result of operator extraction. Since there is independent evidence that antecedents and traces are related, binding (and c-command) do not have to be stipulated.

¹³ Although in each of the examples in (15), the PP can be argued to c-command the pseudo-partitive direct objects, 'negative' *personne*, embedded within the PP, clearly cannot.

- (16) La femme de personne ne m' a offert [Ø de cadeaux]
 the wife of *personne* ne me has offered of presents
 'No-one's wife bought me a present.'

M&V (1994) correctly point out that, if nothing else is said about (15) (and (16)), Kayne's c-command condition on licensing pseudo-partitives is lost. Given that M&V (1994) (quite rightly) do not wish to accept this loss, they assume, instead, that the data represent evidence that *personne* (or the constituent containing *personne*) is a negative operator which undergoes LF movement to a position – SpecNegP in the case of the examples in (15) – whence it c-commands the direct object, and that it is from this LF position that the empty category in the pseudo-partitive is bound in order to satisfy the c-command condition which is then assumed to hold at that level¹⁴.



¹⁴ Again, the shift from S-structure to LF of Kayne's c-command condition must be stipulated. With respect to the tree in (15)/(17), recall that, since *personne* is contained within an island, *personne* moves to SpecPP and a sequence of DA and feature percolation turn the entire PP into a negative operator which then raises to SpecNegP.

However attractive M&V's (1994) proposal may seem, the logic they adopt to arrive at their conclusion deserves close scrutiny. In particular, their analysis crucially depends on the assumption that Kayne's (1981) c-command condition need not be satisfied until LF. This is clearly a weaker condition than the original formulation, and it would be nice to have independent empirical evidence motivating such a weaker condition. Otherwise, it may leave us with an account which is in fact too weak. M&V (1994) provide no such evidence. Consider in this context the ungrammatical string in (18):

- (18) ★Lucille a donné de livres à beaucoup
 L. has given of books to *beaucoup*
 'L. has given books to lots (of people).'

The string in (18) is identical to (15a) apart from the fact that the complement of the preposition *à* 'to', *personne* in (15a), has been replaced by *beaucoup* in (18). As an indefinite quantifier, we might expect *beaucoup* (or the PP *à beaucoup*) to QR at LF. Were this to happen, *beaucoup* would c-command the pseudo-partitive [\emptyset de livres]. As such, and given M&V's (1994) LF c-command condition on the licensing of pseudo-partitives, we might expect the direct object to be licensed, contrary to fact. The ungrammaticality of (18) therefore casts doubt of M&V's (1994) account of the licensing of pseudo-partitives and, more generally, their account of the syntax of *personne*, in particular their claim that it is *personne* itself which is responsible for licensing the pseudo-partitives in (13) and (15)¹⁵.

Rather than accepting M&V's (1994) weaker (= LF) version of Kayne's (1981) c-command condition, let us assume that it does indeed apply at S-structure but that an element other than *personne* is responsible for licensing the empty category in the pseudo-partitive in, for example, (15) (as well as *ne*). Following the discussion in chapter 4, we shall argue that *personne* is not inherently negative and, as such, does not need to (and therefore does not) raise — at S-structure or LF — to SpecNegP. Rather, we shall assume that *personne* is an NPI, bound by Op, the non-overt negative operator. As argued in chapter 4, we shall assume that Op occupies SpecNegP at S-structure since the Neg Criterion applies at that level and *ne* needs to be licensed at that level. We assume further

¹⁵ Note further that raising as far as SpecNegP is not in fact necessary, even if the c-command condition is applied at LF. In fact, to account for the examples in (15), movement of *personne* to SpecPP followed by DA and feature percolation is arguably all that is needed. Since, with respect to the tree in (17), this would be enough to turn the PP into an operator, and since PP c-commands the empty category, \emptyset , in the direct object NumP, the licensing condition of \emptyset is already satisfied and the Neg Criterion need not be invoked.

that it is Op, rather than *personne*, which is responsible for licensing the pseudo-partitives above. As suggested in chapter 2 for the overt counterpart of Op, i.e., *pas*, we shall assume that Op has been extracted from within the pseudo-partitive. We pursue this analysis in section 5.3.3 below. Meanwhile, in the next section, we discuss the second empirical argument M&V (1994) give to support their LF raising analysis of *personne*, namely the general unavailability of NC with *pas*.

5.3.1.2 Unavailability of NC with *pas*

M&V argue (1994: 679-81) that the unavailability of an NC interpretation for strings containing *personne*, etc., and *pas* supports their LF raising analysis of *personne*, etc. When 'negative' phrases such as *personne* and *jamais* co-occur with each other, the resulting interpretation is NC. This is not possible where *personne*, *jamais*, etc., co-occur with *pas*¹⁶. This should be clear from the translations in (19)¹⁷:

- (19) a. Jean n' a jamais vu personne (NC)
 J. ne has jamais seen personne
 'J. hasn't ever seen anyone.'
- b. [*]Jean n' a pas vu personne (DN)
 J. ne has pas seen personne
 'J has not seen no-one.'
 (= 'J. has seen someone.')

M&V (1994) suggest that the unavailability of NC in strings like (19b) can be explained by assuming: (a) that *pas* occupies SpecNegP (at D-structure – see below); and, (b) that SpecNegP cannot then be a landing site for *personne*, etc., at LF. So, while in (19a), both *jamais* and *personne* can raise to SpecNegP at LF¹⁸, and their respective [+NEG] features

¹⁶ This is the case in Standard French. It is not the case in some non-standard varieties such as Québécois, for example, as acknowledged by M&V (1994: 679fn12), in which we have examples such as (i):

- (i) J'ai pas vu personne (NC)
 I have pas seen personne
 'I didn't see anyone.'

¹⁷ M&V (1994) use the [*] diacritic to indicate that strings such as (19b) containing both *pas* and *personne* are interpreted as instances of DN rather than NC.

¹⁸ The adverb *jamais* may well occupy SpecNegP as early as S-structure. See the discussion in chapter 4.

can be absorbed¹⁹, this is not possible in (19b) since, for some unspecified reason, the D-structure presence of *pas* in SpecNegP prevents *personne* from raising to this position at LF.

At this point, one or two words need to be said with regard to M&V's (1994) rather confusing stand on the issue of whether *pas* is generated directly in SpecNegP (as in Pollock (1989)) or whether it is generated lower in clause structure and subsequently raised into SpecNegP (as we suggest in chapter 2). First, on page 679, M&V (1994) claim that *pas* is base-generated in SpecNegP²⁰. (Recall though that, on page 667, M&V (1994) suggest movement is always involved in sentential negation. Now, if *pas* is generated in SpecNegP *à la* Pollock (1989), it is unclear to us what movement would necessarily be involved in sentential negation in French.) Then, in footnote 4 on page 669, M&V are uncommitted on the issue, referring the reader to the discussion in Hirschbühler & Labelle (1992/3) of Rowlett (1992b), i.e., an early version of the proposals in chapter 2. Throughout, they claim that nothing in their analysis of *personne* hinges on this particular issue.

Nevertheless, it seems to us that, despite M&V's claim to the contrary (1994: 669fn4), there *is* in fact something crucial in M&V's (1994) analysis of *personne* which hinges on the issue of where *pas* is generated. It seems to us that their analysis of the unavailability of NC between *personne*, etc., and *pas* hinges crucially on *pas* being in SpecNegP in (19b) *at D-structure*. Indeed, their analysis falls down if the *S-structure* presence of *pas* in SpecNegP could prevent LF raising of *personne* and the NC interpretation. If the presence of *pas* in SpecNegP at S-structure blocked LF raising of *personne*, etc., we would expect the S-structure presence of negative adverbs, such as *jamais*, in SpecNegP to block LF raising of *personne*. However, this does not happen, as shown in (19a) as well as (20):

- (20) Anne avait peur de ne jamais pouvoir souvent rien faire
 A. had fear of *ne jamais* be-able-INF often *rien* do-INF
 'A. was afraid she would never be able to do anything often.'

As argued in chapter 1, section 1.2.7.4, it seems that, in the unmarked case, infinitival modals, such as *pouvoir* 'to be able' do not have to move higher than Mood° and that, if

¹⁹ Recall that, in contrast to our own analysis, M&V (1994) assume these elements are inherently negative.

²⁰ Moritz & Valois (1993) make the same claim.

they do move any higher, they can only freely move as far as T^0 . The fact that *pouvoir* appears before the adverb *souvent*, which, following the discussion in chapter 1, we assume is MoodP-adjoined, suggests that, in (20), *pouvoir* has indeed raised into T^0 . Accordingly, given its pre-verbal position, we assume that *jamais* occupies SpecNegP, as in (21):

(21) ... [_{NegP} [_{SpecNegP} *jamais*] [_{T'} [_{T^0} *pouvoir*] [_{MoodP} *souvent* [_{MoodP} *rien faire* [_{VP} ...]]]]]

Now, if M&V's (1994) analysis of the unavailability of NC with *pas* and *personne* in (19b) hinges on the *S-structure* presence of *pas* in SpecNegP blocking LF raising of *personne* to that position, then NC should also be unavailable in (19a) and (20) since *jamais* occupies SpecNegP. As the gloss shows, however, this is not the case. The sentences in (19a) and (20) show NC. Consequently, if M&V's (1994) account can be salvaged, it must be the *D-structure* presence of *pas* in SpecNegP which prevents LF raising of *personne*. M&V (1994) cannot therefore remain ambivalent and must assume that *pas* is base-generated in SpecNegP, contrary to our proposals in chapter 2. Consequently, they are unable to explain the facts reviewed in chapter 2, sections 2.3.4.2 and 2.2.1 concerning PP-embedded indefinite nominals and negative imperatives. We take this to be somewhat problematic for M&V's (1994) proposed analysis of the syntax of *personne*.

This is not the only issue which, it seems to us, needs to be clarified in M&V's (1994) proposals. First, if *personne* needs to raise to SpecNegP at LF and if, as M&V (1994) suggest, the presence of *pas* in SpecNegP blocks such movement, they would predict that (19b) is ungrammatical. This prediction is however not borne out by the data. (19b) is perfectly grammatical; it simply does not receive an NC reading. How can *personne* ultimately be licensed without LF movement to SpecNegP? M&V (1994) do not answer this question. One might envisage that, in (19b), *personne* fails to qualify as an LF operator in some way, perhaps within the terms of Rizzi's (1995) functional definition of operators. This seems unreasonable, however. Rizzi exploits the functional definition of operators to explain why some constituents appear not to have to raise *at S-structure*. His definition does not apply at LF, where all constituents bearing affective features – *wh*- or negative, for example – are assumed to be operators and, therefore, undergo raising. Certainly, unless some other assumptions are made, Rizzi's functional definition of operators is not going to help M&V (1994) explain why *personne* can avoid LF raising in (19b) and maintain grammaticality.

Second, M&V's (1994) account of the unavailability of NC in (19b) leads implicitly

to a discrepancy between the way the Neg Criterion and the *wh*-criterion work in Modern French²¹. Consider (22), which contains two *wh*-constituents:

- (22) Qui a fait quoi?
Who has done what
'Who did what?'

With respect to multiple *wh*-structures such as (22), it is standardly assumed that the *wh*-phrase which remains *in situ* at S-structure raises at LF to adjoin to a higher *wh*-phrase (Huang (1982); Lasnik & Saito (1984)) and that 'absorption' of the *wh*-feature takes place at that level (Higginbotham & May (1981)). This approach seems to be suitable for (22)²². The question which then needs to be answered is the following: why should a *wh*-phrase *in situ* (*quoi* 'what' in (22)) be able to raise at LF and adjoin to another *wh*-phrase (*qui* 'who' in (22)) allowing *wh*-absorption, whereas, in the case of negative phrases, in contrast, *personne* in (19b) cannot LF raise and adjoin to *pas*, allowing absorption of the [+NEG] feature? M&V (1994) do not really address this issue either. They simply note that, while NC is generally available in French, it is unavailable with *pas*. This in no way provides an explanation for the observed facts. (See chapter 4, section 4.5.2 for a proposal.)

Third, M&V's (1994) analysis of *personne* predicts – wrongly – that NC should be possible between *personne* in subject position and *pas*. M&V (1994) suggest that, where *personne* occupies a position within the subject, as in (13) and, presumably, (16) although M&V (1994) do not discuss such examples, it does not move to SpecNegP since this would involve lowering²³. If *personne* in a subject does not need to move to SpecNegP, the presence of *pas* in SpecNegP should not pose a problem and NC should be possible. The fact that *pas* and *personne* are in distinct specifier positions is not necessarily a problem for absorption of the [+NEG] feature either given Haegeman's (1995) analysis of NC in West Flemish²⁴. In West Flemish, negative XPs can move in

²¹ The discrepancy mentioned here is quite independent from the issue of what level the criteria apply at. As will be shown in the next section, it is clear that the *wh*-criterion applies at S-structure in French.

²² See Plunkett (1995) for an alternative view.

²³ Acquaviva (1993: 17-21) discusses Quantifier Lowering, e.g., LF lowering of 'negatives' from the subject position to SpecNegP, and concludes that it is implausible. See also Rizzi (1990).

²⁴ See chapter 3, section 3.6.1 for discussion.

the syntax to distinct specifier positions. Provided these specifiers are not lower than SpecNegP, NC is possible. In other words, absorption of the feature [+NEG] is possible *even if* the [+NEG]XPs are not in the same specifier position. In Haegeman's analysis, recourse is taken to the notion of extended specifier, following work by Grimshaw (1993): each one of the distinct specifier positions to which concordant [+NEG]XPs move counts as an extended specifier of Neg°. Transferring this notion to French, M&V (1994) would predict that *personne* in subject position can co-occur with *pas* in SpecNegP with an NC reading, contrary to fact²⁵:

- (23) *Personne n' est pas venu* (DN)
personne ne is pas come
 'No-one *didn't* come.'
 (= 'Everyone came.')

Fourth, M&V's (1994) account of NC in terms of multiple adjunction to SpecNegP followed by [+NEG] absorption makes erroneous predictions for (the admittedly highly marked) strings such as (24):

- (24) a. ??*Personne n' a pas rien fait*
personne ne has pas rien done
 'No-one *didn't* do anything.'
 b. ??*Je n' ai pas rien donné à personne*
I ne have pas rien given to personne
 'I *didn't* give nothing to anyone.'

M&V (1994) predict that the presence of *pas* in SpecNegP in the examples in (24) will prevent the other negatives from entering into NC (with *pas* and with each other). Given that both examples in (24) contain three negatives, this means that each should have net negative polarity. That is to say, the strings in (24) should be synonymous with (25), which they are not:

- (25) a. *Personne n' a rien fait*
personne ne has rien done
 'No-one has done anything.'
 b. *Je n' ai rien donné à personne*
I ne have rien given to personne
 'I haven't given anyone anything.'

²⁵ To counter our objection here, M&V might argue that *personne* needs to pass through SpecNegP in its way to SpecAgrSP and that the D-structure presence of *pas* in SpecNegP prevents it from doing so.

In other words, despite the ‘blocking’ presence of *pas* in SpecNegP in (24), *personne* and *rien* are still able to enter into NC with each other (which is, of course, subsequently cancelled by *pas*). The issue which M&V (1994) fail to address is how *personne* and *rien* manage to do this given that they cannot converge on SpecNegP for [+NEG] absorption. The same point can be made in the context of ‘true’ negative imperatives. These were discussed in chapter 2 where it was argued that they are characterised by the absence of a number of functional projections in clausal architecture, including NegP. Given the absence of NegP in such structures, there is obviously no SpecNegP for multiple negative phrases to LF raise to for [+NEG] absorption. Assuming M&V’s (1994) analysis of *personne*, NC should not be possible in these configurations. Yet, as shown in (26), NC is indeed possible:

- (26) Donne- lui jamais rien
 give-IMP him *jamais rien*
 ‘Never give him anything.’

Here, two negative phrases, *jamais* and *rien*, occur in a true imperative clause. That the clause contains a true imperative and, consequently, no NegP projection is clear from the post-verbal position of the indirect object clitic pronoun. Yet, as is clear from the translation, NC is available, contrary to M&V’s prediction.

Finally, by arguing that the (D-structure) presence of *pas* in SpecNegP prevents LF raising of *personne*, etc., M&V (1994) are unable to account for the interpretation of (7), repeated below:

- (7) Je ne crois pas que personne soit arrivé (Prince (1976: 410, (29d)))
 I ne believe *pas* that *personne* be-SUBJ arrived
 ‘I don’t think anyone has arrived.’

As is clear from the translation, the interpretation of (7) is one of NC. *Personne* therefore has wide/matrix scope. Given the assumptions which M&V (1994) make (cf. Kayne (1981)), this means that *personne* raises at LF to the matrix SpecNegP. However, M&V’s (1994) analysis predicts that (7) should be interpreted as DN since the presence of *pas* in the matrix clause should prevent LF raising of *personne* from the embedded clause into the matrix SpecNegP.

5.3.2 Summary: what’s wrong with M&V’s (1994) analysis?

Having discussed the logic which M&V (1994) use to support their proposed analysis, we

shall now summarise what we see as the fundamental flaws. We differ from M&V (1994): (a) on the nature of the negative phrase which raises to SpecNegP; and, (b) on the level at which raising takes place. With respect to (a), M&V (1994) assume that it is either *personne* itself or some larger constituent containing *personne* that raises to SpecNegP. With respect to (b), they assume that movement to SpecNegP is delayed until LF. We disagree on both these points.

First, given that M&V (1994) motivate raising of *personne* to SpecNegP in terms of the Neg Criterion in (11), the fact that this movement does not take place until LF means that M&V (1994) are effectively concluding that, in Modern French, the Neg Criterion need not be satisfied until LF²⁶. This conclusion arouses immediate suspicion in the light of the evidence presented above, in chapter 2 in particular, which clearly suggests that the Neg Criterion has to be satisfied at S-structure in Modern French. Furthermore, the conclusion that the Neg Criterion does not apply until LF in Modern French is problematic when we consider the *wh*-criterion. It has been argued (see Rizzi (1995); Haegeman (1995: 101-2) and references there) that the following data from embedded clauses show that the *wh*-criterion applies at S-structure in Modern French:

- (27) a. Je me demande qui_i ils ont invité t_i (Haegeman (1995: 101, (70c/d))
 I me ask who they have invited
 'I wonder who they invited.'
 b. ★Je me demande (que) ils ont invité qui

Movement of the *wh*-phrase is compulsory in selected embedded *wh*-clauses, arguably to satisfy the *wh*-criterion. If M&V's (1994) analysis of *personne* is right, these data imply a divergence between the *wh*-criterion on the one hand and the Neg Criterion on the other which is problematic if the *wh*-criterion and Neg Criterion are nothing more than construction-specific instantiations of the more general AFFECT criterion, as discussed in chapter 1, section 1.4. In contrast, if both criteria are assumed to apply at S-structure, as we suggest in the next section, there is no such divergence.

Before we leave the issue of the level at which raising to SpecNegP takes place, consider the contrast in (28):

²⁶ This is in fact in line with H&Z's (1991: 244) suggestion that the level of application of the Neg Criterion could be parametrised, and Haegeman's (1992a) claim that the value for the parameter is indeed set to LF in French.

- (28) a. Jean n' est sorti avec personne
 J. *ne* is gone-out with *personne* .
 'J. didn't go out with anyone.'
- b. %Jean (★n')est sorti avec pas d' argent en poche
 J. *ne* is gone-out with *pas* of money in pocket
 'J. went out without any money on him.'

In (28a), *ne* is licensed. Within M&V's account, *ne* is licensed by virtue of the fact that *personne* raises to SpecNegP (by pied-piping its containing PP) at LF. As for (28b), the string is grammatical (if frowned upon by prescriptivists) if *ne* is absent, but universally rejected if *ne* is present. The issue of relevance to us here is the ungrammaticality of (28b) with *ne*. If, in (28a), raising of a negative XP to SpecNegP at LF is sufficient to license *ne* at S-structure, why is it not possible to assume that *pas* pied-pipes to SpecNegP at LF in order to license *ne* in (28b)? Given M&V's (1994) analysis of *personne*, and given that the surface position of *pas* in (28b) is licit, we see no reason why a parallel derivation should not be possible for (28b) with *pas*. The fact, therefore, that *ne* is not licensed in (28b) casts doubt on the validity of any analysis in which *ne* is licensed by the LF presence of an operator in SpecNegP. What seems to be the case, rather, is that 'negative' *ne* is licensed by the S-structure presence of an operator in SpecNegP. Indeed, this is what we have assumed since chapter 1 and what, in the next section, we shall suggest is true in the case of *personne*. Before we go on to do that, we consider the second fundamental objection we have to M&V's (1994) analysis of *pas*, namely the issue of whether *personne* is specified [+NEG].

M&V (1994) assume that *personne* is inherently negative. Although they claim (p. 669fn5) that they do not wish to take a stand on the issue of whether *personne*-like elements are real (negative) quantifiers or NPIs, they go on (p. 690) to claim that *personne* 'inherently bears the [+NEG] feature', which does rather suggest that they have made their minds up on the issue. Further, their analysis in fact crucially depends on *personne* bearing the feature [+NEG]. First, movement to SpecNegP (at any level of representation) cannot be motivated by the Neg Criterion in (11) unless *personne* is [+NEG]. Second, in the context of structures in which *personne* is embedded in an island constituent from which it cannot be extracted, M&V (1994) suggest that the island constituent as a whole pied-pipes to SpecNegP. The pied-piping mechanism which M&V (1994) posit depends upon a feature, namely [+NEG], associated with *personne* alone underlyingly, being transferred to the entire island constituent as discussed briefly in section 5.3.1 above. It is clear that this mechanism relies on *personne* being marked [+NEG].

Given *Jespersen's Generalisation* and the discussion in chapter 3, this is not a conclusion we are going to be happy to make about elements like *personne* in Modern French. Indeed, in chapter 4, we were able to provide an elegant account of the distributional differences between *plus*, *jamais*, etc., on the one hand and *pas* on the other on the basis of an analysis whereby the former are *not* inherently negative while the latter is. For these reasons, we reject M&V's (1994) assumption that *personne*, etc., are inherently negative, and that *personne* (or a larger XP constituent containing *personne*) raises to SpecNegP at LF. Rather, we shall argue that *personne* is a (non-inherently negative) NPI.

5.3.3 An alternative proposal

As an alternative to the analysis proposed by M&V (1994), we would like to suggest that the conclusions reached in previous chapters about sentential negation in French lend themselves immediately to an account of the syntax of *personne*. In what follows, it will be crucially assumed, in line with *Jespersen's Generalisation*, that *personne* is not inherently negative and does not therefore need to raise to SpecNegP in order to satisfy the Neg Criterion. Rather, we argue that *personne* is an NPI, licensed *in situ* by unselective binding from the non-overt negative operator, Op, which does raise to SpecNegP and licenses *ne*. We shall base our discussion on the example in (29), taken from M&V (1994: 670, (5)):

- (29) Jules n' a vu personne
 J. *ne* has seen *personne*
 'J. hasn't seen anyone.'

We assume that *personne* receives its negative interpretation in (29) by virtue of being unselectively bound by Op. Further, we assume that the sentential scope of *personne* is due to the position of Op (Acquaviva (1993: 25)). Given that Op is seen as a non-overt counterpart to *pas*, we assume it can be base-generated adjoined to the constituent over which it takes scope: VP²⁷. The binding relationship in (30) is indicated by co-indexation.

- (30) [_{VP} Op_{*j*} [_{VP} voir *personne*_{*j*}]]

Assuming that Op is marked [+NEG] and that the Neg Criterion in (11) applies universally

²⁷ See chapter 2, section 2.2.

at S-structure (Haegeman (1995)), we assume further that Op raises, at S-structure, to SpecNegP. The relevant parts of the (S-)structure of (29) are given in (31):

$$(31) \quad [_{AgrSP} \dots \overbrace{ne_i \dots [_{NegP} Op_j [_{Neg'} t_i [_{TP} \dots [_{VP} t_j [_{VP} \dots personne_j \dots]]}]}]$$

Here, Op (raised to SpecNegP) unselectively A'-binds *personne* – *in situ* (contra M&V (1994)). The spec-head relationship between Op and (the trace of) *ne* in Neg° serves to license *ne* by transmitting the [+NEG] feature by DA. The clause is therefore negative.

As for the way in which *personne* seem able to license pseudo-partitives without c-commanding them at S-structure, consider again the example from M&V (1994) given in (15a) above, repeated here.

- (15) a. Lucie n' a donné [Ø de livres] [_{pp} à *personne*]
 L. *ne* has given of books to *personne*
 'L. hasn't given any books to anyone.'

In chapter 2, section 2.3.3, we argued that, where pseudo-partitive NumPs are licensed by *pas*, the non-overt element within the nominal is in fact the trace of *pas*, which has been extracted and raised to SpecNegP. Given that we assume Op in (31) fulfills the same function as overt *pas* in the structures discussed in chapter 2, we shall assume that the parallel can be extended further and that Op is generated within the pseudo-partitive in (15a) and raised to SpecNegP whence it unselectively binds *personne*. The relevant difference between the structure of (15a) – given in (32) – and the representation in (31) is therefore the extraction site of Op. Whereas, in (31), it is VP-adjoined, in (32), it is within NumP. In both cases, it unselectively A'-binds *personne* at S-structure.

$$(32) \quad [_{AgrSP} \dots \overbrace{ne_i \dots [_{NegP} Op_j [_{Neg'} t_i [_{TP} \dots [_{VP} [_{NumP} t_j \dots]]}]}] [\dots personne_j \dots]]$$

In (15a), the pseudo-partitive is therefore licensed in the usual way, by extraction of an operator from SpecNumP. (The trace of) *ne* in Neg° is licensed by its (DA) relationship with Op in SpecNegP.

That Op is extracted from within the pseudo-partitive NumP in (15a) is supported by the ungrammaticality of (33):

- (33) ★Je ne sortirais [_{pp} avec [_{NumP} Ø de filles]] [_{pp} pour *personne* au monde]
 I *ne* go-out-COND with of girls for *personne* to-the world
 'I wouldn't go out with girls for anyone in the world.'

In the same way that *pas* cannot license a PP-embedded pseudo-partitive as discussed in

chapter 2, section 2.3.4.2, so it would seem that Op cannot do so either. In the former case, the constraint was analysed with respect to the island status of the PP in French. In order for *pas* to license a PP-embedded pseudo-partitive, it would need to be generated within the PP and subsequently extracted, which it can't do. The ungrammaticality of (33) suggests that a parallel analysis is required for Op. We conclude, therefore, that, in (15a), Op originates within the pseudo-partitive and is raised to SpecNegP at S-structure.

In sections 5.4 and 5.5, we turn to the other negative argument, namely *rien*. First, in section 5.4, we see that the distribution of *rien* fails to match that of *personne*, suggesting that we shall not be able to assume that the formal properties of *rien* match those of *personne*. In section 5.5, we turn to an analysis of *rien* proper.

5.4 The distribution of *rien*

Despite the semantic parallel between *rien* and *personne*, i.e., the fact that they are both NPIs of some sort, there are clear distributional differences between the two. While *personne* essentially has the distribution of a DP, *rien* behaves like the universal quantifier *tout* 'everything'. The differences are illustrated in the following examples:

- (34) a. Jean n' a vu personne
 b. #Jean n' a vu rien
 J. ne has seen *personne/rien*
 'J. hasn't seen anyone/anything.'
- c. #Jean a vu tout
 J. has seen everything
 'J. has seen everything.'
- (35) a. ★Jean n' a personne vu
 b. Jean n' a rien vu
 J. ne has *personne/rien* seen
 (= (34a/b))
- c. Jean a tout vu
 J. has everything seen
 (= (34c))

The examples in (34a) and (35a) show that, where *personne* is the direct object of a verb taken from a compound perfective paradigm, i.e., with an auxiliary and a past participle, *personne* must appear in post-verbal position (for most speakers — see footnote 4); it cannot intervene between auxiliary and past participle. In contrast, (34b) and (35b) show that, in the unmarked case, *rien* raises to a position between the auxiliary and the past participle. (Given the argumental/thematic nature of *rien* in these examples, we assume

that it is base-generated within an A-position and subsequently moved.) The word *rien* can appear in post-participial position (for some speakers – see footnote 3), but only with a marked emphatic reading. (34c) and (35c) show that, in this respect, the distribution of *rien* parallels that of *tout*.

It is not just in the context of compound perfective paradigms that the distributions of *rien* and *tout* coincide (and diverge from *personne*). Parallels can also be drawn in the case of infinitives, as shown in (36) and (37):

- (36) a. N' aimer personne, c'est un crime
 b. #N' aimer rien, c'est un crime
ne love-INF personnel/rien it is a crime
 'Not loving anyone/anything is a crime.'
 c. #Aimer tout, c'est un crime
love-INF everything it is a crime
 'Loving everything is a crime.'
- (37) a. ★Ne personne aimer, c'est un crime
 b. Ne rien aimer, c'est un crime
ne personnel/rien love-INF it is a crime
 (= (36a/b))
 c. Tout aimer, c'est un crime
everything love-INF it is a crime
 (= (36c))

Within the topicalised infinitival clauses, *personne* must follow the verb. In contrast, in the unmarked case, *rien* precedes the infinitive and can only follow the infinitive with emphatic stress. Once again, *tout* parallels *rien*.

Finally, the examples in (38)–(40) below show how, when the direct object of a lexical infinitive is embedded under a modal infinitive, *rien/tout* can – in the unmarked case – precede either the lexical infinitive or both the modal and the lexical infinitive while *personne* must follow the lexical infinitive:

- (38) a. Afin de ne devoir voir personne, ...
 b. #Afin de ne devoir voir rien, ...
In-order of ne have-to-INF see-INF personnel/rien
 'In order not to have to see anyone/anything, ...'
 c. #Afin de devoir voir tout, ...
In-order of have-to-INF see-INF tout
 'In order to have to see everything, ...'

- (39) a. ★Afin de ne **devoir** *personne* **voir**, ...
 b. Afin de ne **devoir** *rien* **voir**, ...
 In-order of *ne* have-to-INF *personne/rien* see-INF
 (= (38a/b))
 c. Afin de **devoir** *tout* **voir**, ...
 In-order of have-to-INF *tout* see-INF
 (= (38c))
- (40) a. ★Afin de ne *personne* **devoir** **voir**, ...
 b. Afin de ne *rien* **devoir** **voir**, ...
 In-order of *ne personne/rien* have-to-INF see-INF
 (= (38a/b))
 c. Afin de *tout* **devoir** **voir**, ...
 In-order of *tout* have-to-INF see-INF
 (= (38c))

The possibilities are schematised in (41), where **MI** stands for modal infinitive, **LI** for lexical infinitive:

- (41) a. ★*personne* **MI** ★*personne* **LI** *personne*
 b. *tout/rien* **MI** *tout/rien* **LI** #*tout/rien*

So, in the unmarked case, *rien* occupies a position further to the left (= higher) than the position occupied by *personne*.

Of course, we have no reason to assume that the positional differences illustrated in these examples are not also manifested in structures in which the nature of verb syntax means that the differences cannot be seen. In other words, given that we can see from the examples above that *rien* generally occupies a higher position than *personne*, the null hypothesis must be that these two elements also occupy different positions in (42) below, even though the difference does not lead to distinct word orders. This is represented schematically in (43).

- (42) a. Marie ne voit *personne*
 b. Marie ne voit *rien*
 M. *ne* sees *personnel/rien*
 'M. can't see anyone/anything.'

- (43) a. Marie ne voit_i
↙
↘
 t_i *personne*
 b. Marie ne voit_i
↙
↘
 rien_j t_i t_j

The absence of contrasting word orders in (42a/b) falls out naturally if we assume that finite verbs raise higher than participial or infinitival forms, high enough at any rate to

mask the effect of *rien*-raising.

What is particularly interesting about the data reviewed in this section is the fact that the distribution of *rien* matches that of *tout* in a number of significant respects. This means that in addition to explaining why *rien* behaves differently from *personne*, our analysis must also explain why *rien* patterns with *tout*. In the next section, we propose an analysis of *rien* which takes these points into account.

5.5 The formal differences between *personne* and *rien*

Before considering *rien* itself, we shall briefly look at work on *tout* and the related *tutto* in Italian. Early generative work on *tout* was carried out by Kayne (1975) under the rubric of L-*tous* (leftward movement of *tous* or some morphologically related item, i.e., *tout*, *toute*, *toutes* to an adverbial position). Kayne's observation was that, generally speaking, 'bare' *tout* is susceptible to leftward movement (= raising) while 'non-bare' *tout* is not. Thus, in addition to the movement possibilities illustrated above in (35c), (37c), (39c) and (40c), in which *tout* is clearly bare, Kayne notes the possibility in (44a) below, in which it is not immediately clear whether *tout* has raised with ((44b)) or without ((44c)) the non-overt category associated with the clitic²⁸, but which minimally contrasts with (45):

- (44) a. Elle l' a tout lu
 she it-CL has *tout* read
 'She has read it all.'
- b. Elle l_i'a [tout t_i]_j lu t_j
 c. Elle l_i'a tout_j lu t_j t_i
- (45) a. Elle a lu tout le livre
 she has read *tout* the book
 'She has read all the book.'
- b. ★Elle a tout lu t le livre
 c. ★Elle a [tout le livre]_i lu t_i

More recently, Cinque (1992) has suggested that the distribution of both French *tout*

²⁸ We remain agnostic over whether the non-overt category associated with the clitic is raised before or after L-*tous* takes place. With respect to the mechanism involved in cliticisation, while has no relevance for the point at hand, we assume Sportiche's (1992) analysis in which a non-overt XP is generated in canonical position and subsequently raised into the specifier of some functional projection, either a Voice Phrase or an Agr phrase, which is headed by the clitic itself. (See also chapter 4, section 4.5.2.)

and Italian *tutto* is the result of movement to an A'-scope position (Kayne's (1975) adverbial position). We shall accept this basic analysis and generalise it to French *rien*. Two questions arise from this. The first is considered by Cinque, who was concentrating on *tout/tutto*: what is the A'-scope position these elements occupy? The second is more relevant to our concerns about *rien*: why is it that *rien* moves to such an A'-scope position while *personne* does not? In other words, why is it that whatever triggers/allows movement of *rien* fails to trigger/allow movement of *personne*. We shall take these questions in turn.

5.5.1 The position of *tout/rien*

First, let us consider the position occupied by *tout/rien* in, for example, (35b/c). Following Rizzi (1995), we assume that an A'-scope position is an A'-left-peripheral specifier or adjoined position, i.e., an XP position. That we are dealing with an XP position can be demonstrated quite straightforwardly. First, *rien* can be modified, even in pre-verbal position, as in (46a). Second, a very restricted kind of 'non-bare' *tout* can move, as in (46b) to which we return later. Both these facts suggest we are dealing with XP movement.

- (46) a. Anne n' a [absolument [rien]] mangé
 A. ne has absolutely rien eaten
 'A. ate absolutely nothing.'
- b. Il nous a [tous les deux] invités
 he us-CL has tous the two invited
 'He invited us both.'
- (Kayne (1975: 14, (24b)))

So, under the further (uncontroversial, we think) assumption that *tout/rien* are generated in the Θ -position with which they are associated (witness the acceptability of (34c), (36c) and (38c)), we suggest that [_{XP} *tout/rien*] move from this A-position to the relevant A'-position. Consider (47):

- (47) Jean n' a pas tout lu
 J. ne has pas tout read
 'J. hasn't read everything.'

In chapter 1, we concluded that the canonical position of the negative marker *pas* was SpecNegP. Assuming that examples such as (47) are in fact monoclausal, an assumption supported by the position to which the clitic moves in (48a) in contrast to the situation in the biclausal (48b), we conclude that *tout* occupies a position below SpecNegP in (47).

- (48) a. Jean ne (les) a pas (★les) lu
 J. *ne* them has *pas* them read
 ‘J. hasn’t read (them).’
 b. Jean ne (★les) veut pas (les) lire
 J. *ne* them wants *pas* them read-INF
 ‘J. doesn’t want to read (them).’

Given the parallel distributions of *tout* and *rien* illustrated in the previous section, an additional conclusion we draw at this point is that *rien* is also lower than SpecNegP in (49).

- (49) Jean n’ a rien mangé
 J. *ne* has *rien* eaten
 ‘J. hasn’t eaten anything.’

The conclusion that *pas* and *rien* occupy different surface positions is supported by the distribution of the adverbs *encore* ‘yet/still’ and *souvent* ‘often’ in the examples in (51)–(52). While the distribution of *encore* is admittedly fairly free, a number of speakers have a preferred position for this element. It would seem that this preferred position is between those occupied by *pas* and *rien*. Consider first (50). Here, *pas* and *rien* intervene between the auxiliary and the past participle.

- (50) a. Jean n’ a rien mangé
 b. Jean n’ a pas mangé
 J. *ne* has *rien/pas* eaten
 ‘J. hasn’t eaten (anything).’

On the basis of the data in (50) alone, one might be tempted to conclude (contrary to our assumptions here) that *rien* and *pas* occupy the same position, e.g., SpecNegP. Were this the correct conclusion to draw, we would predict that adverbs occupy the same linear position with respect to both *rien* and *pas*. This prediction is however not borne out by the data in (51) and (52). In (51), the sentences from (50) have been modified by the adverb *encore*. While *encore* can either precede or follow both *rien* and *pas*, the unmarked order is for *encore* to precede *rien* but follow *pas*²⁹. Under the assumption that *encore* occupies the same position in both (51a) and (51b), we must conclude that *pas* and *rien* occupy different positions.

²⁹ Thanks to Odile Cyrille for pointing out to us the relevance of these facts.

(51) *Unmarked position of encore in (50):*

- a. Jean n' a encore rien mangé
- b. Jean n' a pas encore mangé
- J. *ne* has (*pas*) *encore* (*rien*) eaten
- 'J. hasn't eaten (anything) yet.'

Turning now to *souvent*, the data in (52) show even more clearly that *pas* occupies a higher position than *rien*. In both examples, the embedded infinitival clause is modified by the adverb *souvent*. If *pas* and *rien* occupy the same position, we would expect *souvent* either to precede both or to follow both. However, as shown by (52a), *encore* must precede *rien*, while (52b) shows that *souvent* must follow *pas*³⁰.

- (52) a. ...afin de ne pas souvent manger
- b. ...afin de ne souvent rien manger
- in-order of *ne* (*pas*) *souvent* (*rien*) eat-INF
- '...in order to not eat (anything).'

So, we conclude: (a) that *encore* and *souvent* have a unique (unmarked) S-structure position; and, (b) that *pas* occupies a higher position than *rien*. While *pas* is in SpecNegP (see chapter 2), *rien* is not. The unmarked position of *encore/souvent* can then be assumed to be between the S-structure positions of *pas* and *rien*. As a working hypothesis, we shall assume that *rien/tout* raise and adjoin to MoodP, below *encore/souvent*.

This state of affairs is significant since it seriously weakens the claim that the overt movement which *rien* undergoes, in (35b) for example, has anything to do with negation. If negation were a factor in *rien*-raising, we would expect overt raising to be to SpecNegP, to satisfy the Neg Criterion/license *ne*, in much the same way that *pas* is obliged to raise to SpecNegP. Given that *rien* is very adept at raising out of its base position to A'-scope positions, we see no reason why it would not raise as far as SpecNegP *if it had to*. The fact that it does not raise that far, we would argue, clearly shows that it does not have to, a consequence — we would argue — of the fact that it is not actually negative. What is clear from the above discussion is that, whatever motivates movement of *rien* out of its base position has nothing to do with negation.

If *rien*-raising is not then due to negation, it can only be related to the quantificational properties of *rien*. In other words *rien*-raising must be a consequence of the fact that *rien* is a universal quantifier, as in (53a), a welcome conclusion given that the distribution of *rien* matches so closely that of *tout* which is also a universal quantifier, as

³⁰ Our thanks to Sylvain Larose for confirming the relevance of these data.

in (53b).

- (53) a. X ne verb rien: $\forall x, \neg(\text{verb}'(X,x))$ (e.g., Jean ne mange rien)
b. X verb tout: $\forall x, \text{verb}'(X,x)$ (e.g., Jean mange tout)

So much for the S-structure position occupied by *tout/rien*. In the next section, we turn to a characterisation of the formal differences between *rien* and *personne*.

5.5.2 Why doesn't *personne* behave like *rien*?

In the previous section, we concluded that the XP elements *rien* and *tout* raise to an A'-scope position at S-structure. The data discussed so far suggest that, in contrast, *personne* does not. We have not explained why this should be so. Haegeman (1995: 231) suggests that the (quasi-obligatory) movement of *rien* is triggered by a 'strong intrinsic quantifier feature' which forces the operator to attain an A'-scope position at S-structure, and that the same applies to *tout*. While this seems plausible, given that *tout* and *rien* are both universal quantifiers (more plausible certainly, given our conclusions about the surface position of *rien* in the previous section, than an analysis which motivates *rien*-raising on the basis of any negative feature it might bear), the questions which need to be answered are the following. First, why does *personne* (in most varieties) not have the same feature? (Or, alternatively, what additional feature does *personne* bear which prevents it from raising in similar fashion to *rien/tout*?) Second, what are the structural consequences of the feature mismatch between *rien* and *personne*? Third, how is the feature mismatch overridden when *tout/rien* are emphasised, as in (36b), for example, which is acceptable for some speakers?

In what follows, we shall adopt an analysis whereby the contrast between *rien/tout* and *personne* with respect to mobility is attributed to the structural configurations in which the items are generated. We shall argue that 'mobile' *rien* and *tout* are generated as bare QPs in a specifier position within the argument nominal construction. To be precise, it will be argued that they appear in SpecNumP and function as cardinality markers for NumP. In contrast, 'immobile' *personne* is generated as the head noun of the argument nominal construction. With respect to why *rien* and *personne* should function differently, we shall follow Haegeman (1995: 231) (to some extent) and Cinque (1992) and attribute this to feature specification: while *rien* is an absolute or universal quantifier in an intuitive sense, *personne* is not (in that, minimally, it bears the feature [+HUMAN]). We shall therefore assume that this feature specification is sufficient to prevent *personne* from functioning as a cardinality marker and, consequently, from being generated as a bare QP

in SpecNumP. Emphatic *tout/rien* will be assumed to bear an additional syntactico-pragmatic feature which overrides the 'strong intrinsic quantifier feature' and prevents S-structure A'-movement (L-*tous/rien*-raising) from taking place in the sense that emphatic *tout/rien* is not deemed to be 'bare' in the relevant way. Such an approach allows us to account readily for the possibility of L-*tous* in (46b) above. Here, the entire constituent [tous les deux] functions as a cardinality marker in SpecNumP. It is thus deemed to be 'bare' in the relevant sense and can raise.

We turn now to the analysis, where our discussion begins with the contrast between (54) and (55):

- (54) a. Jeanne a déjà fait tout son travail
 b. ★Jeanne a déjà tout_j fait t_j son travail
 J. has already (all) done (all) her work
 'J. has already done all her work.'
- (55) a. Jean a déjà fait tout de ce qu' on lui a donné
 b. Jean a déjà tout_j fait t_j de ce qu' on lui a donné
 J. has already (all) done (all) of what that one him has given
 'J. has already done all he's been given.'

In (54a), the direct object of the verb is the constituent [*tout son travail*]. The ungrammaticality of (54b) indicates that *tout* cannot undergo L-*tous* from its base position. (See also (45b) above.) In (55a), in contrast, the direct object of the verb is [*tout* [_{PP} *de...*]] containing *tout* and a partitive structure headed by *de* 'of'. From such a base structure, raising of *tout* is possible, as shown in (55b). How can we account for the fact that raising of *tout* is possible in the one case but not in the other?

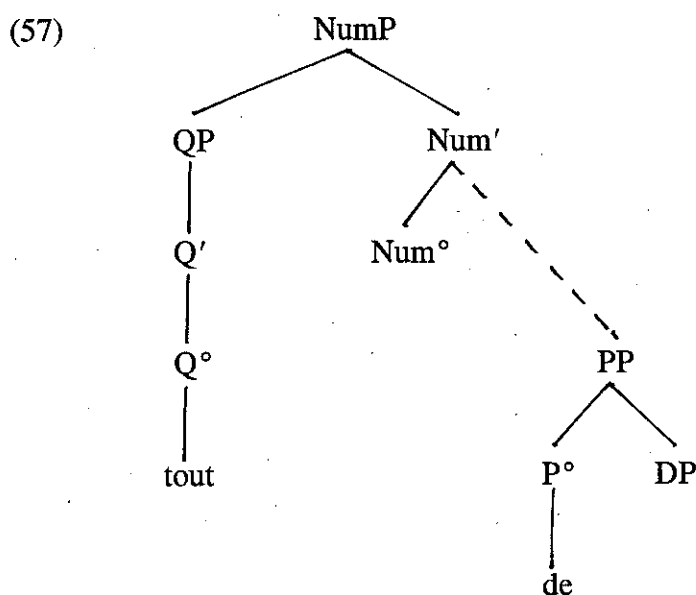
Let us first consider the structure of the direct object in (54a). We might assume that these French examples have a parallel structure to the Italian structures discussed by Cinque (1992) who suggests (p. 4), following Giusti (1991) and Bianchi (1992), that Italian *tutto* (= French *tout*) is a head, Q°, whose complement in (56) is a DP:

- (56) a. [_{QP} tutto [_{DP} il libro]] 'all the book'
 b. [_{QP} tutti [_{DP} i libri]] 'all the books'

What is relevant about this analysis of Italian *tutto* is that *tout* is a complement-taking head: Q°. If this is the correct analysis for the French case, the immobility of *tout* in (54b) is predicted. Movement of *tout* out of its base position within the direct object (without taking its complement DP with it) over V to a position outside VP would require long head movement which would violate Travis' (1984) HMC. Further, even if Q° could

be extracted from VP, given the Structure Preservation hypothesis, we would not expect it to be possible to move it to the type of XP position which, in the previous section, we suggested *tout/rien* occupies at S-structure, namely MoodP-adjoined.

Consider now (55). Here, the direct object of the verb comprises *tout* and the partitive, as in (55a), a base configuration from which *tout* can be extracted, as in (55b). This suggests that *tout* does not have the same status within the direct object in (54) as it does in the direct object in (55). Given that the pre-verbal A'-scope position is an XP position, the grammaticality of (55b) suggests that *tout* is an XP within the direct object rather than a head. So, while structures such as Cinque's (56) may be suitable for (54) and may provide the basis of the unacceptability of (54b), Cinque's structure in (56) will clearly not do for the direct object in (55). Rather than being a *complement-taking* Q° , like *tutto* in (56), let us assume instead that *tout* in (55) is a *bare* Q° and that QP functions as a cardinality marker in SpecNumP (following the discussion in chapter 2, section 2.3.1), as in (57): as was the case in our discussion of pseudo-partitives licensed by *pas* in chapter 2, section 2.3.3, in which *pas* was deemed to be generated as a bare XP in SpecNumP, we assume that *tout* in SpecNumP is well-placed to determine the cardinality of the entire NumP by virtue of its spec-head relationship with Num $^\circ$.



With such a structure underlying (55), the freedom of movement of *tout*, e.g., in (55b), can be dealt with in the same way as quantifier movement in QàD structures, discussed in chapter 2, section 2.3.2. Crucially, *tout* can be extracted from (Spec)NumP in (57) as a maximal projection, QP; head movement is not required; the HMC does not apply.

Before considering *rien*, it is interesting to note one particular prediction which can

be made on the basis of the distinction between the structures in (56) and (57). The structure in (56) is a QP, definite by virtue of the definiteness of the DP complement of Q° . The structure in (57) is a bare NumP, indefinite by definition according to Lyons (1994a). Given this contrast in definiteness, we might expect the two structures to behave differently with respect to constructions which depend crucially on definiteness, e.g., certain forms of cliticisation. For example, compare the contrast in (58):

- (58) a. Le professeur, je l' aime
 b. ★Un professeur, je l' aime
 the/a teacher I him-CL like

The contrast in (58) suggests that clitics like *le* must have a definite referent. Given that the structure in (56) is definite while the one in (57) is not, we expect cliticisation with clitics like *le* to be possible on the basis of (56) but not with (57). In fact, this prediction is borne out in (59):

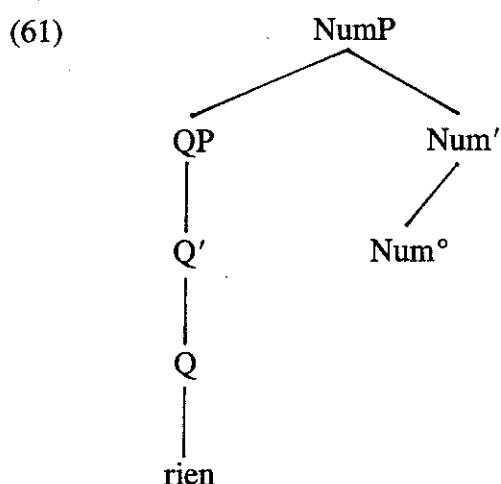
- (59) a. Je l' ai déjà tout lu et je l' ai aimé
 I it-CL have already *tout* read and I it-CL have liked
 'I have already read it all and I liked it.'
 b. ★J'en ai déjà tout lu et je l' ai aimé
 I of-it-CL have already *tout* read and I it-CL have liked

In (59a), the clitic *le* in the second clause is co-referent with the definite [_{QP} tout [_{DP} t]] in the first clause, and the example is grammatical; in (59b), in contrast, the clitic *le* is co-referent with [_{NumP} [_{SpecNumP} tout] [_{Num'} ... [_{PP} t] ...]], and the example is ungrammatical. The contrast is accounted for within the current proposals since the quantifier *tout* functions differently within the two structures. Had we assumed that *tout* was the head of the nominal construction in both (54a) and (55a) and that the contrast revolved around the nature of the complement of *tout* (a DP in (54a), a PP in (55a)), the explanation of the contrast in (59) would be lost. We take this to be additional evidence to support our analysis of the two uses of *tout*.

Returning now to *rien*, note that the freedom illustrated in (55) with respect to *tout* also applies to *rien*:

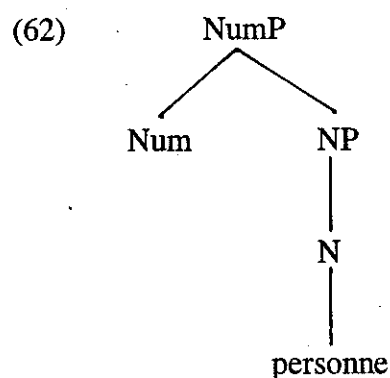
- (60) a. Jean n' a toujours fait rien de ce qu' on lui a donné
 b. Jean n' a toujours rien fait de ce qu' on lui a donné
 J. ne has always (*rien*) done (*rien*) of what that one him has given
 'J. still hasn't done any of what he's been given.'

We shall assume that the same base structure underlies the movement possibilities in both (55) and (60):



Like *tout* in (57) (= (55a)), *rien* in (61) (= (60a)) is a bare quantifier heading a QP in SpecNumP which can be extracted in (60) because it is a maximal projection³¹. In both cases, movement to an A'-scope position is triggered by the 'strong intrinsic quantifier feature'.

Turning finally to *personne*, given that this element does not demonstrate the same mobility as *rien/tout* (see (35a), (37a), (39a) and (40a) above), and given that we attributed this mobility to the fact that *rien/tout* occupy SpecNumP in (57)/(61), we must assume that *personne* cannot appear in SpecNumP. Instead, we shall assume that negative *personne* is analysed by speakers as a noun and, consequently, generated as the ultimate head of the indefinite nominal expression, NumP, in which it appears.



The question which immediately poses itself is why *rien* and *personne* should be analysed in such divergent ways by speakers of the language. Above, we suggested that

³¹ In many ways, this structural analysis of *rien* as a specifier echoes the suggestion by Acquaviva (1995: 9) that *rien* is a determiner.

rien/tout occupy SpecNumP in (57)/(61) because they function as cardinality markers for NumP. The real question to be answered therefore is why *personne* (in contrast to *tout*, *rien*, *tous les deux*, etc.) cannot function as a cardinality marker for NumP. It seems to us that there are two potential ways of explaining this. First, we might assume that the different categorial/structural analyses are determined by feature specification. The two contrasting elements being considered here (*personne* vs. *rien*) are identical but for one feature. While *personne* bears the feature [+HUMAN], *rien* does not. *Rien* and *tout* are both unrestricted universal quantifiers, as in (53a/b) above; in contrast, *personne* has an inherent restriction, namely the set of human beings, as in (63):

(63) X ne verb *personne*: $\forall x, x[+HUMAN], \neg \text{verb}'(X, x)$ (e.g., *Jean ne voit personne*)

It be that this is sufficient to prevent speakers from analysing *personne* like *rien/tout*, namely as a bare cardinality marker, QP. Under such an approach, the elements *rien/tout* are readily susceptible to analysis by acquirers as quantifiers because of their impoverished feature matrix. The second way we might envisage to explain the fact that speakers analyse *personne* differently from *rien/tout* is with respect to the fact that the lexical noun, *la personne*, from which the negative argument being discussed here was derived, is retained in the modern language. The existence of this lexical item may be enough to ensure that 'negative' *personne* is treated as a noun. In fact, Cinque (1992) himself pursues a similar line in terms of categorial feature poverty. In his terms, *tutto/tout/rien* can move into an A'-scope position which, as Kayne (1975) observes, is an essentially adverbial position, because they are unspecified for the features [$\pm N$] and [$\pm V$]. Given that *personne* is clearly a lexical noun elsewhere in the grammar, its lack of mobility as a 'negative' item can arguably be attributed to its categorial feature specification.

Finally, note that the analysis we have pursued here, in particular the grounds for the structural distinction between *rien* and *personne*, suggests that other negative arguments in the language are unlikely to be analysed as quantifiers like *rien/tout* if they are restricted universal quantifiers like *personne* or if there exist parallel non-negative lexical items. While there are only a few other negative arguments in Modern French, the ones that exist bear out this prediction, as shown in (64)³²:

(64) a. Marie n' a pipé mot
M. ne has piped word
'M. didn't say a word.'

³² Our thanks to John-Charles Smith for pointing this out to us.

b. ★Marie n'a *mot* pipé

- (65) a. N'y voir goutte
 ne there-CL see-INF drop
 'Not see a thing'

b. ★N'y *goutte* voir

In summary, then, we conclude that the diverging distributions of *personne* and *rien* are best dealt with in terms of the underlying configurations these elements appear. The fundamental distinction to be captured is that *rien* can be generated as a bare quantifier (QP) which can function as a cardinality marker within an indefinite NumP. With such a function, [_{QP} *rien*] appears in SpecNumP and is afforded the same movement possibilities as the nominal quantifiers discussed in chapter 2. In particular, and as a consequence of some strong intrinsic quantifier feature, *rien* can move out of SpecNumP and adjoin to MoodP. In contrast, *personne* is analysed as a lexical noun, even in its 'negative' use. As a lexical head, movement to an essentially adverbial position such as the MoodP-adjoined position is unavailable.

5.6 Residual issues

Here, we deal with two issues which have yet to be addressed. First, in section 5.6.1, given that we have assumed that *personne* and *rien* are NPIs, we consider why their distribution differs from that of the *any*-NPIs in English. Then, in section 5.6.2, we consider contexts in which NC is possible with *pas* in the standard language.

5.6.1 French vs. English

Why is it that *personne* and *rien* can occupy the subject position while the *any*-series of NPIs in SE cannot?

- (66) a. *Personne ne* vient
 personne ne comes
 'No-one is coming.'
- b. ★Anyone isn't coming³³

³³ But see Duffield (1993) on Hiberno-English where *any*-NPIs are licensed in 'subject' position. Duffield (1993: 222, (15b-e)) gives the following Hiberno-English examples which are ungrammatical in SE:

- (i) a. %Any country couldn't stand it
 b. %Any fellow wouldn't bother joining if he wasn't interested enough to try
 c. %Anything is no sin

Further, why is it that *personne* and *rien* can function as one-word answers to constituent questions while *any*-NPIs in English cannot?

(67) A: Qu'est-ce que tu fais?
B: *Rien*.

(68) A: What are you doing?
B: ★*Anything*.

While it is indeed the case that the *any*-NPIs cannot function as one-word answers or as the subject of matrix negative clauses in SE, the contrast with French can be attenuated if we recall that the licenser of *rien/personne* is non-overt, i.e., Op. One might assume that, in (66a) and (67) respectively, *personne* and *rien* are in the scope of Op. In (66a), this would mean that Op is adjoined either to *personne* in SpecAgrSP or to AgrSP itself. In such a position, Op would count as an extended specifier of AgrS° and, consequently, license *ne* from that position which, given the assumptions we have made throughout, will have raised to AgrS°. (Note that the Neg Criterion obliges a negative operator and head to be in a spec-head configuration at S-structure; it does not specify that this must take place at the NegP level.) In (67), Op will be adjoined directly to *rien*. In both cases, Op has scope over the negative argument, thus accounting for its interpretation. The suggestion being made here draws support from the early analysis of *no*-XPs given in Klima (1964). If, as Klima argues, a *no*-XP is assumed to be the surface form of an underlying combination of *not* plus an *any*-XP, then the grammatical response to the constituent question in (68) (*nothing*) is, underlyingly, [not [anything]], i.e., exactly parallel to the [Op [rien]] sequence we are positing for the French (67). Whereas [Op [rien]] surfaces as *rien*, the sequence [not [anything]] in English is converted into *nothing*.

5.6.2 NC with *pas*

In chapter 4, section 4.5.2, we addressed the unavailability of NC with *pas*, concluding that the empirical domain was best dealt with in terms of a filter which we labelled the *Spec-Head Redundancy Filter*. Essentially, the filter prevents the negative operator which takes scope over the negative adverbs from being overt where the two appear in a spec-head configuration. Given that the unavailability of NC with *pas* applies to negative arguments in the same way as it does to negative adverbs, we might assume that the same

d. %Anybody don' seem to like to live in Russia

mechanism is involved in both cases, as in (19), repeated here for convenience:

- (19) a. Jean n' a jamais vu personne (NC)
 J. *ne* has *jamais* seen *personne*
 'J. hasn't ever seen anyone.'
- b. [*]Jean n' a pas vu personne (DN)
 J. *ne* has *pas* seen *personne*
 'J has not seen no-one.'
 (= 'J. has seen someone.')

However, it would be wrong to say that NC is *never* available with *pas*. Indeed, an example of NC with *pas*, from Prince (1976: 410, (29d)), was given in (7) above, and is repeated here for convenience as (69a), along with a second example, which we came across in the writing of the linguist Gilbert Lazard (Lazard (1994: 41)), in (69b), and a third, from von Bremen (1986: 238, (37)), in (69c). In all these examples, *pas* occurs with a negative argument without leading to logical DN:

- (69) a. Je ne crois pas que *personne* soit arrivé
 I *ne* believe *pas* that *personne* be-SUBJ arrived
 'I don't think anyone has arrived.'
- b. Elle n' indique pas que le chien ait rien fait pour voir l' évêque
 it *ne* says *pas* that the dog have-SUBJ *rien* done for see-INF the bishop
 'It doesn't say that the dog did anything to see the bishop.'
- c. Je ne crois pas que Pierre ait vu *personne*
 I *ne* believe *pas* that P. have-SUBJ seen *personne*
 'I don't believe that P. has seen anyone.'

The same phenomenon is also attested with the negative adverbs discussed in chapter 4:

- (70) Jean ne croit pas qu' il ait jamais fait d' erreur
 J. *ne* believes *pas* that he have-SUBJ *jamais* done of error
 'J. doesn't think he has ever made a mistake.'

The problem is that, given what we know about the interaction between *pas* and, for example, the negative adverbs in Standard French, discussed in chapter 4, section 4.5.2, we expect (69) and (70) to mean the opposite of what they actually do mean. In chapter 4, section 4.5.2, we suggested that the reason negative adverbs co-occur with a *non-overt* operator, Op, rather than its overt counterpart, *pas*, was the *Spec-Head Redundancy Filter*. Given that negative arguments pattern with negative adverbs, we therefore expect the *pas* which occurs in the matrix in (69) and (70) to be independent of the non-overt Op which is assumed to bind *personne*. In other words, we would expect *personne* to have local

scope, which it does not.

We would like to make some rather tentative suggestions and argue that the analysis of elements like *personne* as NPIs proposed here might in fact shed some light on examples such as (69) and (70). Recall first of all that these examples are problematic for an analysis, such as M&V's (1994), which suggests that NC is (usually) unavailable with *pas* because the (underlying) presence of *pas* in SpecNegP prevents LF raising of *personne*, etc. We would suggest that what distinguishes the examples in (69) and (70) from the one in (19b) is the fact that, in (69) and (70), a (subjunctive) clause boundary intervenes between *pas* and the negative arguments. It will be the nature of the embedded CP shell which will lie at the heart of any solution to the problem, and the relationship between *pas* and the negative arguments/adverbs in (69) and (70). Intuitively, it would seem that the relationship between *personne/rien/jamais* in the embedded clauses in (69) and (70) and the operator in the matrix SpecNegP (which determines the scope of the 'negatives') is not close or direct enough to allow the operator to be non-overt which is why it must surface as *pas* rather than Op. This is the idea we shall pursue below although we recognise that our thoughts on this issue are no more than sketchy.

Consider first what is in fact being negated in (69a) (= (7)). Specifically, consider whether the verb *croire* 'to think' is within the scope of the negation. Arguably, it is not. The example is at the very least ambiguous, and the most natural reading is one of NEG-raising in which the negation originates within the embedded clause and has raised into the matrix. The scope relations in (69a) are then as in (71a) rather than (71b), in which *x* represents the embedded clause:

- (71) a. croire($\neg(x)$)
 b. $\neg(\text{croire}(x))$

If it is in fact reasonable to interpret strings like (69a) in this way, we might propose that the base position of *pas* is lower than the VP-adjoined position in the matrix clause. There are two possibilities which immediately come to mind. First, we could imagine that *pas* originates in the specifier position of the embedded CP and raises into SpecNegP from there. A second possibility would be to follow the tack of numerous researchers, e.g., Prince (1976), in assuming that *pas* is base-generated within the embedded IP domain (i.e., VP-adjoined) and raised into the matrix domain. Here too, let us assume that *pas* passes through the specifier position of the embedded CP. In both scenarios then, we expect the embedded SpecCP position to be involved in mediating in the A'-binding relationship between *pas* in the matrix SpecNegP and *personne* in the embedded clause in (69a).

To be precise, where, in the examples discussed so far, the A'-binding relationship between the negative operator and the NPI was direct, i.e., clause-bounded, in (69a) it is indirect in the sense that it crosses a clause boundary and is mediated by SpecCP. Now, in chapter 4, the *non-overt* nature of the operator in SpecNegP which licenses negative adverbs was attributed to the fact that the relationship between the operator and the adverb was local. In (69a), in contrast, the operator in the matrix SpecNegP binds its trace in SpecCP, while the trace in SpecCP unselectively binds the NPI. This, we would argue, must be at the root of any explanation of why the operator in SpecNegP cannot itself be non-overt. The relationship between the operator in the matrix SpecNegP and the NPI in the embedded clause is 'indirect' in some sense yet to be made explicit, and the operator cannot be identified. Consequently, it cannot be non-overt and must be spelt out as *pas*, the overt equivalent of Op.

- (72) a. [... [_{NegP} Op_i [_{Neg'} ... [... *personne*_i ...]]]] (Direct A'-binding)
 b. [... [_{NegP} *pas*_i [_{Neg'} ... [_{CP} *t*_i [_{C'} ... *personne*_i ...]]]]]³⁴ (Indirect A'-binding)

In both scenarios, crucially, *personne* is an NPI and the operator in SpecNegP is inherently negative irrespective of whether it is overt or not, as predicted by *Jespersen's Generalisation* in chapter 3. That the embedded SpecNegP is involved in the binding relationship between the matrix operator and the embedded NPI is supported by the following contrast. In (73a), the [+WH] argument *qui* is extracted from the embedded domain. Given that the embedded clause contains *personne* with matrix scope, we assume, by hypothesis, that *personne* is bound, indirectly, by the negative operator, *pas*, in the matrix SpecNegP. Further, this relationship is assumed to be mediated by the embedded SpecCP position which is, consequently, unavailable as an intermediate landing site for *wh*-movement, hence the ungrammaticality of the example. In (73b), in contrast, *personne* in the embedded clause has local scope. No binding relationship is therefore posited with the matrix SpecNegP position and the matrix SpecCP is not involved. Instead, *personne* is bound by Op in the embedded SpecNegP. Consequently, the embedded SpecCP is available as an intermediate landing site for *wh*-movement and the example is grammatical:

³⁴ The fact that the embedded C° is overt, *que*, can be taken as evidence to support the argument that the embedded SpecCP is filled with no more than *t*. In null operator structures in Standard French, C° is non-overt. Given that C° here is in fact overt suggests strongly that the SpecCP position is not occupied by a null operator (at S-structure).

- (73) a. ★Qui ne croyais- tu pas que personne n' ait invité *t*
 who *ne* believed you *pas* that *personne ne* have-SUBJ invited
- b. Quel livre croyais- tu que Jean n' avait prêté *t* à personne
 what book believed you that J. *ne* had lent to *personne*
 'Which book did you think J. hadn't lent to anyone?'

Finally, we consider the obligatory subjunctive morphology in the embedded clauses in the examples dealt with in this section. We might assume that this is the consequence of the fact that a negative operator has transitted through the embedded SpecCP. Assuming that some sort of abstract DA might occur at that level, the subjunctive morphology would amount to indirect selection from C^0 . Consider in this respect the contrast between (74a) and (74b):

- (74) a. Nous pensons qu' il est là
 we think that he be-IND there
 'We think he's there.'
- b. Nous ne pensons pas qu' il soit là
 we *ne* think *pas* that he be-SUBJ there
 'We don't think he's there.'

In both examples, the matrix predicate is *penser* 'to think'. Yet, in (74a), the selected embedded clause must contain an indicative verb while in (74b) it must be subjunctive. The difference must lie in the presence of the negation in the matrix clause in (74b). Note, though, that (74b) is a case of NEG-raising. In other words, what (74b) actually means is 'We think he isn't there'. The negation has 'raised' out of the embedded clause and is marked overtly in the matrix domain. Arguably, 'raising' has taken place via the embedded SpecCP. Indeed, we might claim that the fact that a negative operator has transitted through the embedded SpecCP is the reason why the embedded verb in (74b) is subjunctive (rather than the indicative in (74a)). Further, if a suitable context could be found in which to interpret something like (74b) as if NEG-raising had not taken place, we would expect the selected embedded clause to contain an indicative verb. In fact, this is exactly what we do find:

- (75) Nous ne pensons pas qu' il est là, nous le savons
 we *ne* think *pas* that he be-IND there we it know
 'We don't think he's there, we know it.'

5.7 Summary

In this final chapter, we have focused on the negative arguments *rien* and *personne*.

Following the discussion of *Jespersen's Generalisation* in chapter 3 and the predictions it makes for languages like Modern French, in chapter 4 we analysed negative adverbs as NPIs whose negative interpretation is due to their association with a negative operator which, in standard varieties, is non-overt: Op. In this chapter, we have pursued this line of thinking and provided an analysis of the negative arguments as NPIs rather than as inherently negative quantifiers. This parallel analysis was justified by the fact that negative arguments can freely co-occur with each other and negative adverbs. In this respect, they are identical to the negative adverbs discussed in chapter 4. Any divergent analysis we might have proposed would therefore have been difficult to justify.

The analysis proposed here differs crucially from suggestions made, for example, by Kayne (1981) and M&V (1993; 1994) in that we have not posited LF raising. While all these authors have assumed that *personne*, etc., raise at LF for one reason or other (QR for Kayne, the Neg Criterion for M&V), we have argued that S-structure is the level at which the scopal properties of negative arguments are determined and the Neg Criterion is satisfied. In this respect, we have followed suggestions by Brody (1995) with respect to *in situ wh*-constructions and work on negation by Haegeman (1995). Rather than positing LF raising, we have suggested that the scopal properties *personne* and *rien* are determined by the S-structure position of Op, namely SpecNegP. Op in SpecNegP serves to license *ne* and satisfy the Neg Criterion by DA and confers a negative interpretation on *personne* and *rien* via A'-binding. In pursuing our analysis, we have two significant advantages over earlier proposals. First, we have avoided the mismatch between the level at which the *wh*-criterion and the Neg Criterion apply in French. There is clear empirical evidence to suggest that the former applies at S-structure. Yet M&V's (1994) analysis of *personne* depends on the latter not applying until LF. This divergence is undesirable if the two criteria are ultimately to be viewed as a single AFFECT criterion, as assumed in chapter 1, section 1.4. Second, our analysis of negative arguments allows us to maintain a unitary account of pseudo-partitives. In chapter 2, section 2.3, we considered the syntax of these indefinites and concluded that their distribution was best dealt with in terms of S-structure operator extraction. While this was appropriate for the data discussed in chapter 2, it was questioned by M&V's (1994) analysis of *personne*. For M&V, *personne* licenses the empty category contained within a pseudo-partitive by A'-binding after LF raising to SpecNegP. LF raising was necessary since *personne* doesn't necessarily c-command the empty category at S-structure. By assuming, as we have done, that it is a non-overt negative operator (rather than *personne*) that raises (at S-structure rather than LF) to SpecNegP, we are able to maintain our original analysis of pseudo-partitives. In other

words, rather than being licensed by *personne* itself, pseudo-partitives are licensed by Op (in the same way that they are licensed by *pas*, *beaucoup*, etc.), namely by S-structure operator extraction out of (Spec)NumP.

The analysis fleshed out here unites a number of the conclusions drawn in earlier work by other researchers. For example, we follow Muller (1984; 1991) in treating *rien* and *personne* (as well as adverbs such as *plus*, *jamais* and *guère* discussed in chapter 4) as NPIs of one sort or another (in the scope of a non-overt, underlyingly negative operator) rather than as inherently negative items. We also follow Kayne (1981), Rizzi (1982), Hornstein (1984) and Zaring (1985) in assuming that the adverbs/arguments (associated in one way or another with the operator in SpecNegP) are quantifiers. Finally, along with Milner (1979) and Aoun (1986), we assume that the negative adverbs/arguments are ‘anaphoric’ in the sense that they are licensed by virtue of being A’-bound by an ‘antecedent’, namely the negative operator, Op.

Having concluded that *personne* and *rien* are both NPIs bound by Op and licensed at S-structure, we went on to ask why these two elements do not have matching distributions. Here, the crucial observation, dating back at least to Kayne (1975), was that rather than matching *personne*, *rien* matches the other universal quantifier, namely *tout*. On the basis of work by Cinque (1992) on Italian *tutto*, it was suggested that *rien* and *tout* (at least in its ‘mobile’ version) are generated as bare quantifiers heading a QP in the specifier of an argument NumP. As a maximal projection, the QP containing bare *rien/tout* is afforded the syntactic mobility needed to allow it to raise to an A’-scope position, a movement triggered by a ‘strong intrinsic quantifier feature’ common to them both. In contrast, it was argued that the lack of movement possibilities of *personne* suggest that this element does not occupy such a specifier position. Rather, we suggested that *personne* is a head noun and that this naturally accounted for its immobility.

5.8 Concluding remarks

Having come to the end of our discussion, we would like, in this final section, to remind the reader of some of the questions which, it seems to us, remained essentially unanswered in earlier chapters.

First, with respect to the pre-verbal ‘negative’ marker *ne*, discussed in chapter 1, we followed ‘standard’ assumptions in analysing this element as the overt realisation of the head of a functional projection which we labeled NegP. In chapter 1, section 1.3.2, we presented data which were problematic for this assumption:

- (76) a. Je t' ordonne de **ne plus jamais ne rien** faire (Muller (1991: 325))
 I you order of *ne plus jamais ne rien* do-INF
 'I order you never again not to do anything.'
 (= 'I order you always to do something in future.')
- b. - Il serait criminel de **ne pas** partir
 It be-COND criminal of *ne pas* leave-INF
 'It would be a crime not to leave.'
- Au contraire, il serait criminel de **ne pas ne pas** partir
 To-the contrary, it be-COND criminal of *ne pas ne pas* leave-INF
 'On the contrary, it would be a crime not to not leave.'
 (= 'On the contrary, it would be a crime to stay.')

The problem with these data is that, in what appears to be a single (embedded infinitival) clause with (presumably) maximally one NegP projection, two instances of *ne* appear. In chapter 1, we discussed a number of approaches to these data, but came to no conclusions. Clearly, if we wish to maintain our essential assumptions about the nature of *ne*, something significant needs to be said about data such as these.

Second, it seems that there is still uncertainty as to what really drives movement of *pas* to SpecNegP. In the discussion, we assumed raising was in order to produce the configuration required to satisfy the Neg Criterion in (11). An alternative, entertained since our discussion of verb syntax in chapter 1, section 1.2, and one which is in line with much recent work (see Chomsky (1995b)) is that raising of *pas* to SpecNegP is motivated by morphological feature Checking. There is some evidence to suggest that there are in fact two issues involved. Under Haegeman's (1995) assumption that the Neg Criterion is universally satisfied at S-structure, there is cross-linguistic variation as to whether it can be satisfied by a non-overt operator in SpecNegP or not. In chapter 3, we suggested that this variation should be attributed to the underlying feature specification of Neg°/SpecNegP. Now, it seems to us that the need to satisfy the Neg Criterion is independent of how it can be satisfied. Consequently, although the Neg Criterion may well be the reason why an operator (of some sort) has to raise to SpecNegP at S-structure, it is likely to be a morphological Checking issue whether that operator has to be overt or not. If this is right, the Neg Criterion and Checking are both needed. Clearly, work still needs to be done in this area.

Third, the discussion of *Jespersen's Generalisation* in chapter 3 dealt exclusively with NC between non-subjects (not in SpecAgrSP) and with verbal negative markers. Given that SpecAgrSP is above SpecNegP, our A'-binding analysis had nothing to say about NC with subjects. This seems to us to be a serious issue to be addressed.

Fourth, in chapter 4, we dealt with negative adverbs. Having concluded that these

elements are not inherently negative and that, rather, they are interpreted negatively because they appear in the scope of a negative operator, the issue we addressed was why the negative operator had to be non-overt (in standard varieties, at least). We suggested that the restriction was best dealt with in terms of a filter, along the lines of the *Doubly-Filled Comp Filter*. This generalised filter was labeled the *Spec-Head Redundancy Filter* and assumed to be driven by economy considerations. The problem with this account was that the application of the filter does not seem to pattern in parallel fashion across varieties. For example, those varieties in which the filter applies in the realm of negation are not, it would seem, all and only those varieties in which the filter applies at the CP level. Quite apart from the fact that it is unclear what theoretical status a 'filter' might have, this is problematic if we wish to posit a single filter responsible for all these aspects of the grammar.

Finally, and from this fifth chapter, we have not returned to the contrast in (4), due to Kayne (1981):

- (4) a. ★Je n' ai exigé que personne soit arrêté
 I ne have demanded that *personne* be-SUBJ arrested
 'I didn't demand anyone be arrested.'
- b. ?Je n' ai exigé qu' ils arrêtent personne
 I ne have demanded that they arrest-SUBJ *personne*
 'I didn't demand they arrest anyone.'

Kayne (1981) as well as M&V (1993; 1994) accounted for this contrast in terms of their respective LF raising analyses of *personne*. Having argued that LF raising of *personne* (or *rien*) does not happen, we are left with explaining the contrast in (4). In section 5.2, we noted that the judgements given by Kayne are suspicious to say the least. A number of speakers reject both (4a) and (4b) equally. Of course, the discussion and tentative conclusions in section 5.6.2 above predict that both (4a) and (4b) should be ungrammatical since they involve binding across a CP boundary. According to our suggestions in section 5.6.2, both should become acceptable if an overt operator is added to the matrix clause. Yet this prediction is not borne out, as shown in (77):

- (77) a. ★Je n' ai pas exigé que personne soit arrêté
 I ne have *pas* demanded that *personne* be-SUBJ arrested
 'I didn't demand anyone be arrested.'
- b. ★Je n' ai pas exigé qu' ils arrêtent personne
 I ne have *pas* demanded that they arrest-SUBJ *personne*
 'I didn't demand they arrest anyone.'

How can we account for the unexpected ungrammaticality of (77) which contrasts with the grammaticality of the examples in (69) above? The tentative suggestion that we would like to make is that the contrast between (69) and (77) hinges on the contents of the embedded CP, itself attributable to the matrix predicate. The matrix predicates in (69), namely *croire* 'to believe' and *indiquer* 'to say', select indicative complement CPs. The fact that, in these specific examples, the complement clauses contain subjunctive verbs can be explained in the following way: the negative marker *pas* originates in the embedded clause (accounting for the interpretation) and transits through SpecCP on its way to the matrix clause. DA at the CP level transmits the feature [+NEG] from *pas* in SpecCP to C° which, in turn, (ultimately) licenses the subjunctive morphology on the verb. Indeed, the subjunctive morphology can be taken as evidence that *pas* does indeed transit through SpecCP. In contrast, the predicate *exiger* 'to demand' selects a subjunctive complement CP. It seems to us that this must be at the root of the unacceptability of (77). A number of approaches might be considered. The 'subjunctive' C° may require an operator in specifier position which would prevent *pas* from transiting through this position. Alternatively, the [+NEG] feature transmitted from *pas* to C° by DA might be incompatible with whatever feature(s) C° bears underlyingly. In either case, the ungrammaticality of (77) would be attributed to the nature of the matrix predicate.

So, while we have not been able to answer all the questions raised by the data and by the details of our own analysis, we have argued that a number of the assumptions commonly made about the system of sentential negation in French need to be reconsidered and are certainly not as obviously right as some suspect. It is likely that much of our analysis will have to be revised as more empirical facts enter the discussion and as the theoretical framework evolves. Our main hope is that our own treatment of the empirical domain will provoke further investigation and that, in whatever small part, our understanding of natural language will have been deepened.

Abbreviations and symbols

1, 2, 3	first, second, third person
A/A'	argument/non-argument
ACC	accusative (case)
Acc(P)	Accusative (Voice) (Phrase) (Sportiche (1992))
Adv(P)	Adverb (Phrase)
AGR	agreement
AgrO(P)	Object Agreement (Phrase)
Agr(P)	Agreement (Phrase)
AgrS(P)	Subject Agreement (Phrase)
Asp(P)	Aspect (Phrase)
Aux	auxiliary
BT	Binding Theory
C17Fr	Seventeenth Century French
CL	clitic
C(P)	Complementiser (Phrase)
DA	Dynamic Agreement (Rizzi (1995))
Dat(P)	Dative (Voice) (Phrase) (Sportiche (1992))
DN	(logical) double negation
D(P)	Determiner (Phrase)
<i>ec</i>	empty category
ECM	Exceptional Case Marking
ECP	Empty Category Principle
EMPH	emphatic
fn	footnote
F(P)	Functional (Phrase)
FUT	future
H&L	Hirschbühler & Labelle
HMC	Head Movement Constraint (Travis (1984))
H&Z	Haegeman & Zanuttini
IMP	imperfect/imperative
IND	indicative

INF	infinitive
Infl/INFL	inflection
Inf _n (P)	Infinitive (Phrase)
I(P)	Inflection (Phrase)
LF	Logical Form
LI	lexical infinitive
L-marking	lexical marking (Chomsky (1986b))
L- <i>tous</i>	leftward <i>tous</i> movement (Kayne (1975))
MI	modal infinitive
Mood(P)	Mood (Phrase)
M&V	Moritz & Valois
NC	negative concord
NEG	negative
Neg(P)	Negative (Phrase)
Nom(P)	Nominative (Voice) (Phrase) (Sportiche (1992))
N(P)	Noun (Phrase)
NPI	negative polarity item
NSE	Non-standard English
Num(P)	Number (Phrase)
n-word	negative word (Laka (1990))
Op	non-overt operator
Op _{cont}	non-overt contentive operator (Haegeman (1995))
Op _{exp}	non-overt expletive operator (Haegeman (1995))
PL	plural
Pol(P)	Polarity (Phrase)
POS	positive
Pos(P)	Positive (Phrase)
pp.	pages
P(P)	Preposition (Phrase)
<i>pro</i>	non-overt pronominal
PRO	non-overt pronominal anaphor
PROG	progressive
PROS	prospective
PST	past
Q _a D	quantification at a distance (Obenauer (1983; 1984))

Q(P)	Quantifier (Phrase)
QR	Quantifier Raising
REFL	reflexive
SC	Serbian/Croatian
SE	Standard English
SG	singular
SOV	subject-object-verb
Spec	specifier
SUBJ	subjunctive
<i>t</i>	trace
T(P)	Tense (Phrase)
UG	Universal Grammar
V2	verb second
Vinf	infinitival verb
V(P)	Verb (Phrase)
V&W	Verrips & Weissenborn
WF	West Flemish
<i>wh/WH</i>	interrogative
<i>x</i>	variable over entities
X^{\max}	XP
XP, YP, ZP	any maximal projection
ϕ	person, number, gender, etc.
Θ	thematic
Δ	non-overt negative operator (Rowlett (1994a/b)) (= Op[+NEG])
$\Sigma(P)$	Sigma (Phrase) (Laka (1990))
\neg	logical operator of negation
\emptyset	empty category
★	ungrammatical string
[*]	grammatical with a logical DN reading only
?/??	strings of increasingly questionable grammaticality
%	rejected by prescriptivists but acceptable to many speakers
\exists	existential operator
\forall	universal operator

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